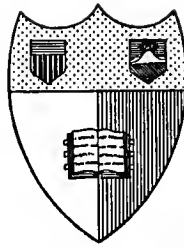


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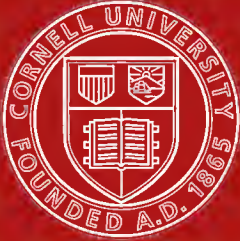
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“THE BOOKE OF SIR THOMAS MOORE.”



With Twenty-two Facsimiles and a Portrait of Lord Strange













FERDINANDO STANLEY, LORD STRANGE.



# "THE BOOKE OF SIR THOMAS MOORE"

(*A Bibliotic Study*)

*By*

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

*"Speak, hands, for me!"*

JULIUS CAESAR, III. i

NEW YORK  
THE TENNY PRESS  
33-35 West 17th Street

RS  
CB



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*To My Friends*







## *By Way of Preface*

I have not the slightest doubt that the small group of scholars who will read my little book will agree with me that in the chronicle play of *Sir Thomas Moore*, written in the last decade of the sixteenth century, we have one of the most valuable and interesting relics of the Age of Shakspeare. This play, preserved to us in manuscript form, is unique in many respects. Not only was it never acted, though it has some very effective and affecting scenes, but it was not printed until almost the middle of the nineteenth century. Of the three thousand plays which it has been estimated were written during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, this is the only one that is known to have been written by six authors, one more than its nearest rival in regard to the number of authors engaged in the writing of a single play: Webster's *Caesar's Fall*.

Of these six authors, of whom only two—Anthony Mundy and Thomas Dekker—have hitherto been identified, one is by many competent scholars believed to have been no less a man than William Shakspeare himself. The identity of the other three, one of whom is generally—and wrongly—regarded as having been only a copyist, has not heretofore even been guessed at. I think I may claim to have demonstrated in the following pages not only the identity of these three poets but also the exact date when the play was written, the purpose for which it was written and why it was never completed, as well as the reason why Sir Edmund Tyllney, the official censor of plays, refused to permit it to



be acted. As a corollary to these conclusions, I have, I believe, established that, contrary to the generally received opinion, Thomas Kyd, the most popular tragedian before Marlowe and Shakspeare, and the writer of the first *Hamlet*, had not ceased writing for the stage in 1587, and, furthermore, that the hitherto unidentified Lord whom he served was none other than Ferdinando Stanley, the fifth Earl of Derby. From this it follows that in the early nineties Thomas Kyd, Marlowe and Dekker were writing for Lord Strange's Company, the company to which Shakspeare is by many considered to have been attached. The significance of this will be realized when it is remembered that three pages of the play of *Sir Thomas Moore* are by some regarded as being in Shakspeare's own hand.

The other contributors to this play I have identified as Henry Chettle, who has not hitherto been known to have written for the stage prior to 1596, and Thomas Heywood, who was not known to have written drama prior to 1598. Here, then, we have specimens of very early work by two of Shakspeare's best known and most prolific contemporaries—and in their own handwritings! The scholar acquainted with the works of these poets will have no difficulty in recognizing their peculiar qualities in their contributions to this play.

In the preparation and publication of this book I have been greatly assisted in various ways by Professor Ashley H. Thorndike, who not only read the book and recommended it for publication, but gave me excellent and sound criticism concerning many of the matters discussed; by Professor E. H. C. Oliphant, who read and discussed the manuscript with me almost from the first word to the last, and but for whose great learning and critical acumen this would undoubtedly have been a very dif-



ferent book from what it is; by Professor Joseph Q. Adams, who was no less generous in his suggestions and criticisms than the forementioned scholars; and by Mr. Alexander Green who, notwithstanding the limited time at his disposal, made time to consider the arguments and the language very carefully and to make valuable suggestions as to both. To Professor Joseph V. Crowne and Mr. Harris J. Griston I am also indebted for numerous valuable hints and suggestions. Others who have assisted me in a more material way in enabling me to bring this book out at this time are Miss Lucy Maverick, Dr. Samuel Lang, Mr. Morris Gintzler, Mr. Louis S. Lewis and, above all, my brother Edward. To all these I hereby express my most heartfelt thanks.

S. A. T.

April, 1927.







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## "THE BOOKE OF SIR THOMAS MOORE"

(*A Bibliotic<sup>1</sup> Study*)

### CHAPTER I

#### THE NUMBER OF PENMEN

When (in 1844) Alexander Dyce edited *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore* (MS. Harl. 7368), under the title of *Sir Thomas More, a Play*, it does not seem to have occurred to him to attempt to identify the author of what is beyond a doubt one of the most interesting of the few manuscripts to have come down to us from the age of Shakspeare. He was content to dismiss the subject (*op. cit.*, p. v.) with the remark that "Concerning the author of this tragedy nothing is known." Beyond saying that the manuscript "is written in several hands," he did not even trouble to ascertain the exact number of penmen who had been engaged on the work.

But what is still more astonishing is John Payne Collier's failure to add to his laurels by ascertaining the identity of the writers of this play. While Dyce was preparing *Sir Thomas More* for the press, Collier was at work on Henslowe's *Diary* (published in 1845), and thus had the opportunity to familiarize himself with the handwriting of some sixty-odd of Shakspeare's contemporaries. Halliwell-Phillipps, too, missed his opportunity, notwith-

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<sup>1</sup> "Bibliotics" may be defined as the science which studies the characteristics of a document for the purpose of determining its genuineness or spuriousness and of establishing the identity of the person who wrote it. The best books dealing with this subject are Mr. Albert S. Osborn's *Questioned Documents* (Rochester, 1910), *The Problem of Proof* (N. Y., 1922), and Dr. Persifor Frazer's *Bibliotics, or the Study of Documents* (Phila., 1894).



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standing the fact that he published (?) a facsimile of this justly famous and invaluable *Diary*.<sup>2</sup>

In 1871 Richard Simpson announced<sup>3</sup> his belief that several sections of the play (folios 8 and 9, dealing with the insurrection of the London apprentices, as well as folios 7<sup>b</sup>, 11, 12, 13<sup>a</sup>, half of 13<sup>b</sup>, and 14) were not only composed by Shakspeare but that they have come down to us in his own handwriting. He based this belief on the literary and calligraphic characteristics of the manuscript. The following year James Spedding announced<sup>4</sup> his agreement with Simpson as to folios 8 and 9, but not as to the rest. Though Spedding was able to distinguish five other handwritings in the play and corresponding differences in style, it apparently did not occur to him to seek to identify the writers by a comparison of the handwritings with any published facsimiles of the autographs of Elizabethan playwrights.

Professor C. F. T. Brooke, having studied the play<sup>5</sup> rather carefully, described the manuscript as "written in five different hands," evidently (and correctly) leaving the injunction of Sir Edmund Tyllney, the Master of the Revels, out of consideration. But he was not quite sure, for in a footnote he says that "possibly only four" penmen were engaged on the work. Furnivall, according to

---

<sup>2</sup> The only reference to this facsimile that I have ever seen occurs in Jaggard's *Bibliography*, where we read (p. 148): "Henslowe (Philip): *Diary*. Facsimile by J. O. Halliwell. Fo, pp. 109," but no date of publication is given, nor is a single copy located. But, of course, Mr. Halliwell was well acquainted with the *Diary*.

<sup>3</sup> *Notes and Queries*, July 1, 1871, pp. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes and Queries*, Sept. 21, 1872, pp. 227-8; also in his *Reviews and Discussions*, 1879, pp. 376-84.

<sup>5</sup> *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, 1908, p. xlvii.



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Brooke,<sup>6</sup> clearly recognized six handwritings, and perhaps seven.

Brooke dismissed the subject of “the authorship of *Sir Thomas More* in its first form” with the statement that it had been assigned to Lodge, “whose doubtful claim is favored by Fleay and Hopkinson.” But when we turn to Fleay we find<sup>7</sup> that—at any rate in 1886—he assigned the play to two authors, to Lodge and (“Scene 2 with Lifter, and Scenes 9, 10, with Faulkner and the players”) to the author of *The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell*, whom, notwithstanding the initials “W. S.” on the 1602 title-page, he identified as Michael Drayton. Sir Edmund K. Chambers<sup>8</sup> rightly dismisses Fleay’s argument as “flimsy.”

In 1911 Dr. W. W. Greg, editing the play for the Malone Society, not only distinguished clearly and precisely<sup>9</sup> the six hands in the play—we leave the hand of Tyllney out of consideration—but assigned almost every word, letter, and stroke to the pen that wrote it. To

---

<sup>6</sup> Sir George F. Warner, according to the same authority (*op. cit.*, p. *xlix*), was “not sure” whether folios 8 and 9—the only pages which anyone now assigns to Shakspeare—are in a different hand” from that which Simpson attributed to the Bard of Avon.

<sup>7</sup> *A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakspeare*, pp. 292-4.

<sup>8</sup> *The Elizabethan Stage*, 1923, IV, 34.

<sup>9</sup> It must, however, be pointed out that not only Dr. Greg but also Sir Edward M. Thompson and Mr. J. A. Herbert and others who studied the manuscript committed a serious blunder in failing to recognize that the word “seriant” in the left margin of folio 8<sup>a</sup> in the stage-direction “Enter seriant” is not in the handwriting of the penman who wrote the text and whom they seek to identify as Shakspeare. For proof of this statement *cf.* my essay, “Shakspeare’s Unquestioned Autographs and the Addition to ‘Sir Thomas Moore,’” in *Studies in Philology*, April, 1925, 22:133-60. *Cf. facs. no. 11.*



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facilitate reference he designated the "scrivener" (as he thought him) in whose hand the bulk of the play is written as S; the writer of folio 6<sup>a</sup> (71 lines of verse), as A; of folios 7<sup>a</sup> (65 lines) and 16<sup>a</sup> (62 lines), as B; of 7<sup>b</sup> (55 lines), 11\* (22 lines), 12<sup>a</sup> (60 lines), 12<sup>b</sup> (61 lines), 13<sup>a</sup> (60 lines), 13<sup>b</sup> (30 lines), and 13\* (26 lines), as C; of 8<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>b</sup>, and 9<sup>a</sup> (147 lines) as D; and part of 13<sup>b</sup> (31 lines), as E.



## CHAPTER II

### THE AUTHORS OF THE PLAY

As might have been expected of so well-equipped and so thoroughgoing a scholar, Dr. Greg entered into a detailed discussion of the authorship of the play. Though he did not then regard the additions made by D (folios 8<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>b</sup> and 9<sup>a</sup>) "with the admiration they have aroused in some critics," the view that would assign these pages to Shakspeare (*i.e.*, "the writer who, as I believe, foisted certain of the Jack Cade scenes into the second part of *Henry VI*") seemed to him "eminently reasonable." From the occurrence of a peculiar error in line 1847 ("fashis" for "fashion") he drew the unfortunate inference—an inference which misled many scholars after him—that the original text of the play (all that part which is in the handwriting of S) is not the author's autograph, that, in other words, S was only a scribe. He was also convinced that C was "not an original author but a copyist," and that to him (C) had been assigned the task of the dramatic revision of the play for the stage.

From a comparison of the handwriting on the lower half of fol. 13<sup>b</sup> with *MS. Add. 30262, fol. 66<sup>b</sup>* (in the British Museum) and with Henslowe's *Diary* (fols. 101 and 114) he felt that E was Thomas Dekker. This identification of E with Dekker has since been corroborated on bibliotic grounds by Sir Edward Thompson and on literary grounds by Mr. E. H. Oliphant,<sup>1</sup> and is undoubtedly correct.

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<sup>1</sup> E. H. Oliphant, "Sir Thomas More," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April, 1919, 18:226-235.



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"A," says Dr. Greg, "is unquestionably an independent writer and not a copyist. The alterations in his draft of More's speech on fol. 6 prove that beyond question." Regarding the contribution to the play made by A, whom he left otherwise unidentified, Dr. Greg says that it seems "unlikely that we have in A a writer who was concerned in more than the single passage [fol. 6<sup>a</sup>] preserved in his own hand."

Having concluded that S and C were only copyists, though the latter unquestionably also functioned as dramatic reviser and editor; that A wrote only one folio page (dealing with More's arrest, scene xiii in Dr. Greg's edition of the play); that D (the contributor alleged to be Shakspeare) wrote only a part of the insurrection scene (scene vi); and that E wrote no more than the few lines on fol. 13<sup>b</sup>, Dr. Greg was forced to attribute the bulk of the original text of the play to B. He says: "Supposing the original to be the work of a single author, and supposing that author's hand to occur anywhere in the extant manuscript, then the evidence points to that hand being B. There is this to be said in favour of this claim, that he is the only one of the writers in question who [because of his execrable penmanship] was manifestly incapable of making his own fair copy" (*op. cit.*, p. xviii). In support of this theory Dr. Greg justly points out that B is the only one of the multiple scribes who makes marginal additions to the original text, and that his contributions show him to have "entered fully into the spirit of that original." As to the identity of S, A, B, and C, Dr. Greg had nothing to say.

A great step forward was made the following year when, following the publication of Farmer's facsimile of



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Anthony Mundy's signed manuscript play of *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, Dr. Greg conclusively showed that the man he had designated as S (the scribe in whose handwriting the original text of *Sir Thomas Moore* is written) was Anthony Mundy, though he still maintained that the curious mistake of "fashis" for "fashið" (fashion) proved S (Mundy) to have been only a copyist,<sup>2</sup> at least for some of the thirteen leaves in his handwriting.

In 1916 Sir Edward Thompson published his now well-known book, *Shakespeare's Handwriting*, in which he argued stoutly and impressively, exclusively on calligraphic grounds, for Shakspeare's authorship of the so-called "Addition" (*i.e.*, folios 8 and 9). Concerning the authorship of the rest of the play and the identity of any of the other penmen he had not a word to say.

Three years later Oliphant announced (*op. cit.*) his discovery that "three different [literary] styles were discernible in the original version of the play," though no less than five authors (Mundy, Dekker, Shakspeare, and two others) were at work on the alterations. The original authors, he said, were Mundy and Dr. Greg's B and A (the last being the master of a much finer and more impressive verse than either of his associates). Mundy, according to Mr. Oliphant, was the original author of everything up to the end of III 2 (adopting the divisions given in Brooke's very serviceable edition of the play), B of IV 1 and the whole of V, and A of the balance of IV. Concerning the additions and alterations he has this

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<sup>2</sup> Mundy's writing "fashis" was only an instance of a very common kind of slip of the pen, and was in all probability determined by the fact that no less than six *s*'s occur in the line ("as it is neuer out of fashion: sits as faire") and that the word following "fashion" begins and ends with an *s*.



to say (*l. c.*, p. 229): "A provided the part of IV 5 that is in his handwriting [*i.e.*, fol. 6<sup>a</sup>]; Mundy wrote II 3; and B is to be credited with the additions to II 2, the insertion in II 4, the insertions in III 1, III 3, the alterations and additions to IV 1, and the revised version of a portion of V 4. Of the other two writers, whose touch is not discernible in the original draft, Shakspeare [*i.e.*, D] is responsible only for the revised version of II 4 that is in his hand; and the other [E], for all the added portions of III 2, whether in his hand or the hand of C."

Mundy's interest in the play, according to Oliphant, was that of co-author of the original version, perhaps of the larger part of it, and the transcriber of some of the work of his "lazier colleagues." It is worthy of note that though Oliphant could "detect the presence of only three authors in [the] first draft," he believed that "four were concerned in it, though the work of the fourth, Dekker, exists only in his revised version of it" [*i.e.*, of part of III 2]. "It is unlikely," said he, "that Dekker would have a hand in the revision . . . if he were not one of the original authors."



## CHAPTER III

### CONJECTURAL DATES OF COMPOSITION

The date of *Moore* has been a much disputed question, some scholars assigning it to so early a date as 1587 and others to one or another year between this and 1608. The imagined recognition of Shakspeare's hand and mind (or influence) in the play has not tended to simplify the matter. Some felt—so uncertain is merely aesthetic criticism—that the character of Shakspeare's work called for an early date; whereas others thought they recognized in it the characteristics of such careless work as Shakspeare might have been capable of—when doing hackwork—even in his best period. Oliphant argues for a date not earlier than 1598-9, on the grounds that "Dekker as a dramatic writer cannot with certainty be traced back beyond 1597-8" and that "he would hardly have been taken into partnership with Mundy and two other presumably established dramatists, until he had proved his quality" (*l. c.*, p. 231).

In the same paper (p. 235) Mr. Oliphant announced that Sir Edward Thompson had written him to the effect that, having studied Mundy's extant autographs, he saw "no reason why the year 1592 or 1593 should not still be accepted as approximately the date of the MS. of *More*." Notwithstanding his high regard for the authority of Sir Edward, Mr. Oliphant insisted that if Mundy's *John-a-Kent* was written in 1596, and if Sir Edward was right in thinking that the handwriting of *Moore* was two or three years later than *Kent*, then *Moore* was written in 1598-9.



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After having considered all the evidence and arguments published prior to 1923, Sir Edmund Chambers<sup>1</sup> dates the play as "c. 1600."

The dating of the play has been based on one or more of the following considerations: The handwriting has been declared by no less an authority than Sir George Warner to be unquestionably that of the sixteenth century. The presence of Tyllney's autograph annotations and signature proves that the manuscript was submitted to him prior to 1610, the date of his death.

The fact that the play, dealing with the tragic fate of Sir Thomas More, assiduously avoids the slightest hint as to the cause of Sir Thomas's fall—his refusal to concur in his libidinous monarch's plans regarding Anne Boleyn—a subject displeasing to Queen Elizabeth's ear—may be regarded as a fairly certain indication that the play was written prior to 1603, the Virgin Queen's death.

Inasmuch as, owing to Tyllney's illness, his nephew, Sir George Buc, was appointed Deputy-Master of the Revels in 1597, "and gradually took over all the onerous duties of the office" (Adams), it seems eminently reasonable to infer, from the presence of Tyllney's spirited annotations and firm signature, that the play was submitted to and read by him prior to 1597. Cf. facs. No. 20.

Thompson is confident that the handwriting characteristics of *Moore* fit it somewhere between Mundy's *John-a-Kent* (which belongs somewhere between 1590 and 1600) and his autograph dedication to his *The Heaven of the Mynde*, which is dated 1602.

In line 1151 of *Moore* (Greg's numeration) there is a reference to "Mason among the King's players" which

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<sup>1</sup> E. S., I. 320.



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might indicate that the play was written after James' ascent to the English throne, but as nothing is known of an actor named Mason among the King's Players (unless the king meant was Henry VIII.) or in any other contemporary company, the allusion (if it is one) proves nothing.

The reference (in lines 1006 and 1148 of *Moore*) to Ogle, a maker of theatrical properties, was up to recently regarded as an indication of an early date, inasmuch as no reference had been found to Ogle subsequent to the Revels Accounts of 1584-5; but the argument from the references to him was withdrawn by Professor Pollard when he published<sup>2</sup> E. K. Chambers' discovery of an entry in Henslowe's *Diary* of a payment to Ogle in 1600.

One of the most interesting and significant hints for the early dating of this play was the mention (in the margin of fol. 14<sup>a</sup>, in the handwriting of C) of the actor "T. Goodal" in the rôle of Messenger, for we know that a Thomas Goodal or Goodale was a member of Lord Strange's company, and that he acted the rôle of a Councillor in the second part of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, of which a "plot"<sup>3</sup> and cast ("dating most probably from 1591"—Greg) is preserved at Dulwich College among the Alleyn papers. Another reason for assigning *Moore* to

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<sup>2</sup> "The Date of 'Sir Thomas More,'" *The Times Literary Supplement*, November 8, 1923, p. 851.

<sup>3</sup> These "plots" are "skeleton outlines of the action, with notes of entrances and exits, and of the points at which properties and music are required" (E. K. Chambers). For a minute study of the seven extant "plots," their bearing on the theatrical history of the time and on some of the problems dealt with in this book, see Dr. Greg's essay, "The Evidence of Theatrical Plots for the History of the Elizabethan Stage," in *The Review of English Studies*, July, 1925, I: 257-274.



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the early nineties was a certain alleged similarity between the revised insurrection scene (written by D, the alleged Shakspeare) and the Jack Cade scenes in *2 Henry VI*, published in 1594 but acted in 1592.

Percy Simpson suggested a date in or soon after 1595 on the ground that in one of Jack Faulkner's speeches ("Moore had bin better a scowrd More ditch, than a notcht mee thus") there was probably an allusion to a cleansing which was begun in May 1595.<sup>4</sup> Fleay and others had suggested the same date "because of riots by apprentices and unruly youths in June of that year." As early as 1871 Richard Simpson had assigned *Moore* to the "last months of 1586 or the early months of 1587" on the score of the mention of an anti-alien plot which was frustrated by the arrest of the youthful conspirators in September 1586.

Mr. W. J. Lawrence, attaching no value to the paleographic arguments of Sir Edward, argued<sup>5</sup> that the absence of the Master of the Revels' license at the end of the play, the call for "waites" (town musicians) in one of the stage-directions, the occurrence of a ringed cross in front of the name of one of the actors, and the presence of certain stage-directions indicated that the major portion of the surviving manuscript of *Moore* was a prompt-copy and that the original play must therefore have been written and acted in or very shortly before 1589, especially as after 1590 no company of actors would have dared to trifle with the Privy Council by deliberately

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<sup>4</sup> From what will follow it will be apparent that Faulkner was referring to the fact that "More ditch" was notoriously in need of a scouring, not that it had been cleansed.

<sup>5</sup> (London) *Times Literary Supplement*, July 10, 1920, p. 421; *id.*, p. 456.



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disregarding the Master's instructions and veto. Dr. Greg and Miss M. St. Clare Byrne had no great difficulty in showing<sup>6</sup> Mr. Lawrence's position to be quite untenable.

Professor Pollard has recently argued<sup>7</sup> for a date late in 1593 or early in 1594. He points out that "in May 1593 there were complaints and libels against the Flemings and French which were seriously engaging the attention of the Queen's advisers . . . 'Libels' were posted up both in prose and verse, the former bidding the strangers depart out of the realm between this and the 9th of July next, and ending 'Apprentices will rise, to the number of 2336, and all the Apprentices and Journeymen will down with the Flemings and strangers' . . . 'The Court upon these seditious Motions, took the most prudent Measures to protect the poor strangers and prevent any Riot or Insurrection. Several young men were taken up and examined about the confederacy to rise and drive out the strangers, and some of these rioters were put into the stocks, carted and whipt; for a terror to other Apprentices and Servants.' But the precautions taken were mostly secret and only the Lord Mayor 'and discreetest Aldermen' were informed of the real nature of the trouble. On the other hand, the complaints of the tradesmen, the counting of the aliens and the fact of the discovery of the libels must all have been common talk in May 1593, and if the secrecy with which precautions against a rising were taken led to a belief that no very serious view was taken of the matter, here, I submit,

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<sup>6</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, July 8, 1920 (p. 440); July 29 (p. 488); August 12 (pp. 520-1).

<sup>7</sup> *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 26-29.



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was just the combination of events and popular feeling which playwrights might try to exploit by reviving the memory of the famous riots of 1517, without seeming to themselves to run any exceptional risk."

How near to, and yet how far from, the truth Professor Pollard was in this conjecture the sequel will show. For the present it is sufficient to point out that the theatres were closed during the time when he supposes the play to have been written, and remained closed for a year, the theatrical companies (including some of the playwrights) were touring the provinces, and that it is extremely improbable that after the repressive measures adopted by the government in the spring of 1593 any dramatist would have dared to make anti-alien agitation the central theme of a play.

This account of the play we are studying would be incomplete did it not include a brief statement of the ingenious Mr. Arthur Acheson's views on the subject. In a long paper, entitled "Shakespeare, Chapman et 'Sir Thomas More,'" and published in the *Revue Anglo-Américaine* (Nos. 5 and 6, 1926, vol. 3, pp. 428-439, 514-531), he contends that *Moore* was originally written in 1586-7 by Anthony Mundy and George Chapman, was subsequently revised several times (in 1595, again in 1597-8), and that in 1589-90 Shakspeare freely revised Chapman's and Mundy's original version of the celebrated insurrection scene—a piece of presumption for which the embittered and envious Chapman never forgave Shakspeare and for which he thereafter ever pursued him with his hate.



## CHAPTER IV

### ANTHONY MUNDY'S AUTHORSHIP

Returning to the subject of the authorship of the play, I need add only that after (and because of) the publication of Oliphant's essay, following the identification of S's handwriting with Mundy's, Dr. Greg modified his former position<sup>1</sup> (published in 1911 and in 1913) to the extent of regarding S (Mundy) not as a copyist merely or as the sole author of the original text, but as having been "at least part author." Notwithstanding what he had previously said about the significance of the scribe's error of writing "fashis," a meaningless neologism, where the text required "fashion," he was now willing to accept Mundy as one of the original authors of *Moore* for no better reason, apparently, than that Mundy "was well-known as a dramatic author."<sup>2</sup> That a person with a reputation as an author might, under certain circumstances, act as a scribe does not seem to have previously occurred to him. With this change of opinion concerning S, Dr. Greg also dismissed his former conclusion that B wrote the bulk of the original text, presumably because he knew that S (Mundy) was a well-known dramatic author, whereas B was an unknown entity. According to his latest published utterances on the subject, he now credits (*op. cit.*, p. 46) B with having transcribed on folio 7<sup>a</sup> (scene iv), with small original additions, the work of another writer and with having added to folio 16 (scene ix) part of a scene originally written by himself. To E

<sup>1</sup> "Autograph Plays by Anthony Mundy," in *Modern Language Review*, Jan. 1913, pp. 89-90.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare's Hand*, p. 48.



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he now assigns the rôle of a writer who made “an addition to his own revision (transcribed by C) of another author’s original scene viii.”

Before we proceed to identify the hitherto unidentified writers and authors of *Moore*, let us consider (1) whether the manuscript affords evidence that Mundy was the author of some of the material of which he was making a fair copy, and (2) whether all of this play in his hand-writing is his own composition.

That Mundy was the author of part of what he was transcribing can be proved by the occurrence of certain passages in which the text was obviously altered *currente calamo*. (The theory that these corrections might have been dictated to him by an author standing at his side may be dismissed as grossly improbable.<sup>3</sup>) These passages are the following:

1. L. 44 (fo. 3<sup>a</sup>, sc. 1).—“wilt thou so neglectly suffer thine owne shame?” Originally this line read: “will he so neglectly suffer his owne shame?” (I. 1, 70. Brooke’s numeration.)
2. L. 474 (fo. 10<sup>a</sup>, sc. vi.)—“his highnesse in mercie will moste graciously pardon.” The word “will” is an alteration from “wise,” indicating that Mundy originally may have intended to write: “his highnesse in mercie wisely will pardon.” (II. 4, 176.)

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<sup>3</sup> If such an improbable assumption were made in his case, it could obviously also be made in the case of each of the other revisers and that would defeat the calligraphic argument for Shakspeare’s authorship of part of II 4.



3. Ll. 538-540 (fo. 10<sup>a</sup>, sc. vi).—"My Lord, for to<sup>4</sup> denye my Soueraignes bountie,/ were to drop precious stones into the heapes/ whence first they came, from whence they'd nere returne,". The last five words are deleted and the line is left with only two feet. This, be it remembered, is the page on which there is a marginal addition (a speech assigned to the clown) by B. (II. 4, 246-8.)
4. Ll. 598-599 (fo. 10<sup>b</sup>, sc. vii).—"they cannot bring the Cartes vnto the stayres/ to bring the prisoners in." Just as he was about completing the word "bring" the author changed his mind, struck out the letters "brin" and wrote "take." The reason for the change was probably the occurrence of the word "bring" in the line above. Just a few lines below this we have another marginal addition (another Clown speech) in B's handwriting! (III. l, 32-3.) But the scene may be A's or B's.
5. L. 740 (fo. 11<sup>b</sup>, sc. viii<sup>a</sup>).—"Is it your honors pleasure that I should be proude now?" Here the word "be" was struck out after the sentence was completed and the word "growe" substituted for it in an interlineation. (First draft of III. 2, 4-5. Brooke, p. 418.)

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<sup>4</sup> Mr. Oliphant (*op. cit.*, p. 229) called attention to the locution "for to" as being peculiar to A only, but, as a matter of fact, this "for to" construction (which is generally associated with Robert Greene) occurs five times in Act IV of this play (IV. ii, 92; iii, 1; v, 33, 134, 143,—all in Mundy's handwriting) and, with the above exception, nowhere else. It occurs once in Chettle's *The Tragedy of Hoffman* (in l. 1104, a prose passage); once in Mundy's *Fidele and Fortuno* (at l. 1230); not at all in *John-a-Kent*, *The Blind Beggar*, or in *The Captives*.



6. Ll. 785-6 (fo. 11<sup>b</sup>, sc. viii<sup>a</sup>).—"The Princes safetie;  
and the peace,/ that shines vppon our cōmon  
weale, is forgde." Here the word "is" was deleted  
as soon as written and "are" written above it. Con-  
siderations of grammar determined the change.  
(First draft of III. 2, 47-8. Not in Brooke.)
7. Ll. 842-3 (fo. 14<sup>a</sup>, sc. viii<sup>b</sup>).—"he hath cut his haire,  
and dooth conforme him selfe/ to honest decencie  
in his attire." The words "to honest decencie" are  
deleted for no apparent reason, possibly because the  
idea is implied in the word "conforme" or because  
it is tautologous *per se*. (First draft of III. 2,  
49-50. Brooke, p. 419.)
8. Ll. 857-59 (fo. 14<sup>a</sup>, sc. viii<sup>b</sup>).—"Faulk. I humbly  
thanke your honor.  
*Moris.* And my selfe/ shall rest moste thankful  
for this gracious favour." The words "shall rest  
moste" are deleted, thus leaving the sentence in-  
complete. Mundy evidently intended to put his  
predicate last, making his sentence read somewhat  
as follows: "And myself, thankful for this graci-  
ous favor, shall" etc., but he never finished it, pos-  
sibly to indicate that More interrupts Morris's pro-  
testations of gratitude with the following words:  
"wilt please your honors now to keepe your way:"<sup>5</sup>  
(First draft of III. 2, 64-66. Not in Brooke.)
9. L. 1458 (fo. 19<sup>a</sup>, sc. xiii).—"they [i.e., Great men]  
learne lowe noates after the noates that rise." Prob-  
ably, being dissatisfied with the repetition of the  
word "noates," Mundy struck it out after "lowe"

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<sup>5</sup> The deletion converts two lines into one iambic pentameter.



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and wrote above it the proper word "straines" as an interlineation. (IV. 5, 46.) Cf. no. 14.

10. Ll. 1588-91 (fo. 19<sup>b</sup>, sc. xiii.)—More, under arrest, says: "Gramercies, freend, and let vs now on,/ To a great prison, to discharge the strife,/ commenc'de twixte conscience and my frailer life/ Moore now must marche," Here the words "and let vs now on" (as Dr. Greg ingeniously and probably correctly reads this line) are heavily deleted. It seems fairly clear that Mundy, having finished the first line of More's speech, decided to change the structure of his sentence, to put his predicate at the end; hence he struck out the aforesaid words and ended his sentence with "Moore now must marche." (IV. 5, 175-8.)
11. L. 1731 (fo. 20<sup>b</sup>, sc. xvi).—"If it be so [*i.e.*, if the warrant is come], . . . let vs see it." Here the word "see" is crossed out and "knowe" written after it. The change was made before the sentence was completed. More does not even care to see the warrant; it is enough for him to know his grateful monarch has signed it. (V. 3, 2.)
12. L. 1826 (fo. 21<sup>a</sup>, sc. xvi).—"I thought to haue had a Barber for my beard". In this simple sentence Mundy had originally written "had" before "thought," but not liking the construction struck it out; absorbed in this grammatical problem, he forgot the word "had" and had to add it as an interlineation before "a Barber." (V. 3, 100.)
13. Ll. 1956-64 (fol. 22<sup>a</sup>, sc. xvii).—"Come, let's to the block.



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*Hang.* My Lord, I pray ye put off your doublet.

*Moore.* No my good freend, I haue a great colde  
alreadie, and I would be lothe to take/  
more, point me meete the block, for I  
was nere heere before

*Hang.* To the Easte side my Lord.

*Moore.* Then to the Easte,  
We goe to sighe, that ore, to sleep in rest.  
No eye salute my trunck with a sad teare,  
Our birth to heauen should be thus:  
voyde of feare.—*exit* [!]."

All this is marked for omission and crossed out and in its place (and following it immediately) the author substitutes the following (*cf. facs. No. 1*):

"Stay, ist not possible to make a scape  
from all this strong garde? it is  
There is a thing within me, that will raise  
and eleuate my better parte boue sight of  
these same weaker eyes. And M<sup>r</sup>  
Shreeues, for all this troupe of steele that  
tends my death,

I shall breake from you, and flye vp  
to heauen,

Lets seeke the meanes for this.

*Hang.* My Lord, I pray ye put off your doublet.

*Moore.* Speake not so coldely to me, I am hoarse  
alreadie,

I would be lothe good fellowe to take  
more,

Point me the block, I nere was heere  
before.

*Hang.* To the Easte side my Lord.







# The platt of The Second parte of the Seuen Deadlie Sinnes

A tent beinge plac'd one the stage for Henry the sixt. In it a sleepe to him the Countesse A purcuamnt R Conly. G. Duke and a roandere ~~John~~ R Pallant. to them Pride. Gluttony. wrath and Couetousnes at one dore at an other dore Enuie. Sloth and Veberry The three put back the fowre and so Exemnt

Henry awaking Enter A. Kaper of sincler to him a seruamt T. felt to him Lidgate and the Kaper Exit then enter againe When Enuy pisseth ouer the stag. Lidgate speaks

A. Kaper Dumb Show

Enter King. Gorboduk w<sup>th</sup> 2 Counsaillers. R. Burdadoe m<sup>th</sup> Brian. Th. Gadale. The Quene. w<sup>th</sup> ferrex and Porrex and som attendamts follow. Remder w<sup>th</sup> Harry. A. Duke. Wit. R. Pallant. A. Holland After Gorboduk hath consulted w<sup>th</sup> his Lords he brings his 2 sons to the swall seates They enking on on other ferrex offers to take Porrex his Coronet. he drawe his weapon The King. Quene and Lords step between them They struke him away n<sup>o</sup> menasing each other exit The Quene and A. Duke. Lidgate speaks

Enter ferrex toward w<sup>th</sup> Drum and Colours and folow one way. Harry. Wit. R. Conly. John Duke. to them At a nother dore. Porrex. Drum and Colours and folow w<sup>th</sup> R. Pallant. John. Sincler. A. Holland.

Enter Good. Quene. w<sup>th</sup> 2 Counsaillers. m<sup>th</sup> Brian. Th. Gadale. to them ferrex and Porrex. seuerall waies w<sup>th</sup> Drums and Power. Gorboduk entrengs in the midt between. Henry speaks

A Larum w<sup>th</sup> Excurtions. After Lidgate speaks

Enter ferrex and Porrex seuerall. Gorboduk. This following them. Lucius and Damasus m<sup>th</sup> Brian. A. God.

Enter ferrex at one dore. Porrex at an other The King. ferrex is slayn. to them Vidend Be Quene. A. his Damasus. to him Lucius.

Enter Porrex sad. w<sup>th</sup> Jordan his man. R. P. w<sup>th</sup> to them the Quene and A. Kadie. Nich. Samder. And Lords R. Conly. m<sup>th</sup> Brian. to them Lucius. King.

Henry and Lidgate speaks Sloth pisseth ouer

Enter Giraldus. Phronsius. Aspasia. Pompeia. Rodope. R. Conly. Th. Gadale. R. P. A. Nick.

Enter Sardinapalus. Arbachus. Nicanor and Capitaines marching. m<sup>th</sup> Phillipp. m<sup>th</sup> Pope. R. P. A. Wit. Sincler. A. Holland.

Enter A. Capitaine. w<sup>th</sup> Aspasia and the Ladies. Wit.

Lidgate speaks

Enter Nicanor w<sup>th</sup> other Capitaines. R. Pall. A. Sincler. Wit. A. Holland. R. Conly. to them Arbachus. m<sup>th</sup> Pope. to him wit. fole. A. Duke. to him Rodope. Ned. to her Sardinapalus. Wit. A woman w<sup>th</sup> Aspasia. Rodope. Pompeia. wit. fole. to them Arbachus and 2 myghty m<sup>th</sup> Pope. A. Sincler. Vincent. R. Conly. to them Nicanor and others. R. P. A. Wit.

Enter Sardinapalus. w<sup>th</sup> the Ladies to them A. Messenger. Th. Gadale. to him wit. fole. R. P. A. Larum

Enter Arbachus pursuing Sardinapalus. and the Ladies. After Enter Sarda. w<sup>th</sup> as many Jewels. robes and Gold as he can carry. A. Larum

Enter Arbachus. Nicanor and the other Capitaine in triumph. m<sup>th</sup> Pope. R. P. A. Wit. A. Holland. A. Con. A. Sincler.

Henry speaks and Lidgate. Veberry pisseth ouer the stag.

Enter Terence. Philomela. A. Duke. w<sup>th</sup> A. Duke.

A. Burdadoe.

Enter Progne. Iphis and Lords. Samder. w<sup>th</sup> A. Duke. to them.

Enter Philomela and Terence to them Julia

Enter Progne. Iantysca. Iphis and Lords. Samder. A. Duke. to them. Harry. Th. Gadale. to them. Terence. w<sup>th</sup> Lords. R. Burdadoe. A. Duke. R. Conly.

A. Dumb Show. Lidgate speaks.

Enter Progne w<sup>th</sup> Iphis. Samder to her Terence from Hmting. w<sup>th</sup> Iphis. Lords to them Philomela. w<sup>th</sup> Iphis. A. Duke. in a ship. Mercury Comes and all Iantysca. to him. I. Lords. Th. Gadale. Harry. to them.

Henry speaks to him Lieutenant. Burgenam. and roandere. R. Conly. A. Duke. A. Holland. John. Sincler. to them. Warrish. m<sup>th</sup> Brian.

Lidgate speaks to the Ladies and so Enuie.

Wit



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. *Moore*. Then to the Easte.

we goe to sigh, that ore, to sleepe in rest.  
Heere Moore forsakes all mirthe, good  
reason why,/the foole of fleshe must with  
her fraile life dye.

No eye salute my trunck with a sad teare,  
Our birthe to heauen should be thus:  
voide of feare.—*exit*." (V. 4, 115-34.)

14. It is more than likely, too, that the deletion of ll. 1457-8 (IV. 5, 45-6: "Great men are still Musitians, else the worlde lyes,/ they learne lowe straines after the noates that rise.") and l. 1571 (IV. 1, 157): "the bell (earths thunder) soone shall toale my knell." is the work of the author-scribe dissatisfied (justly) with his work, rather than of a collaborator.

From what has just preceded, it is reasonably certain that Anthony Mundy was the sole or part author of at least the following scenes: Act I, sc. 1; Act II, sc. 4 (ll. 173-273, except ll. 209-10 by B and spoken by "Clown"); Act III, sc. 1 (except ll. 44, 74-5, 86-93, by B and spoken by "Clown"); sc. 2 (subsequently rewritten and revised by two other penmen, C and E); Act IV, sc. 1 (except ll. 310-67 by B), sc. 5 (partly revised by A); Act V, scs. 3 and 4. In addition to these eight scenes we have the following eight scenes in his handwriting: I 2; I 3; II 2 (deleted,—revised and rewritten by B); IV 2, 3, 4; V, 1, 2. It follows, then, that we have almost the whole of sixteen scenes in his handwriting; of seven (possibly eight) of these he was certainly co-author, if not the sole author.



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Whether he was the author, in whole or in part, of the other nine scenes in his handwriting and of the other scenes of the play, original and revised, can be determined only—if at all—by internal evidence, *i.e.*, by the evidence of style. But the probabilities all are, of course, that his coadjutors contributed some scenes to the play, that their share in its composition consisted of more than merely discussing and plotting it among themselves, leaving the actual writing to Mundy. Unfortunately the fact, if it be a fact, that Mundy fair-copied the play—and was therefore in a position to introduce some of his own peculiarities (*e.g.*, his way of using *thou*, *ye* and *you*<sup>6</sup>) into the work of his coadjutors—makes it impossible to say with certainty what scenes were or were not composed by him.

From a study of the seven or eight scenes herein attributed to Mundy, it appears that he may be credited with the following literary characteristics, which in the main are to be found also in *John-a-Kent*: (1) a fondness for alliteration in the prose speeches of the London citizens (*e.g.*, "Thou art my prize and I pleade purchase," "What soeuer is mine scornes to stoupe to a straunger," "Beefe and brewes may serve," "a coorse Carpenter," "cost thy best cappe, were I not curbd," "mens milkie harts dare not strike a straunger," "allow such coorse cates to Carpenters," "courage in the cause," "preachers shall there openly publishe in the Pulpit," etc.); (2) a fairly large percentage of feminine verses (in *John-a-Kent* slightly less than 17%); (3) a marked concern for his verse structure, which causes him frequently to indicate elisions (*e.g.*, *you'r* for *you are*, *then's* for *then is*, *on't* for *on it*, *ther's* for *there is*, *Th'art* for *Thou art*, *for't* for

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<sup>6</sup> See p. 32.



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for it, *th'enforced* for *the enforced*, *had't* for *had it*, *t'abuse* for *to abuse*, etc.) and to guard the reader against giving syllabic value to final *ed* (hence he writes *obseru'de*, *punish'de*, *enforc'de*, etc.) though he shows a marked tendency to give final *ed* the value of a syllable; (4) a careful avoidance of the use of a monosyllabic word as the eleventh syllable of a feminine verse; (5) a frequent and pointless indulgence in one or more rhymed couplets anywhere within a speech; (6) an excessive employment of unnecessary stage-directions (*e.g.*, *Lord Maior and Moore whisper, aside, action, shrugging gladly, he sits downe, they lay by their weapons, he leapes off, he kisses her on the ladder, flinging up cappes, flourishing his dagger, with great reuerence*, etc.); (7) a not infrequent use of a colon at the end of the penultimate line of speeches written in verse; (8) a very rare employment of anapests in any part of the line (when such do occur they can almost always be cured by an obvious elision, *e.g.*, *it is doone, I am glad, seu/erall wardes, hon/oring me*); (9) a rather frequent employment of *into* and *unto* in the fourth foot; and (10) a not very common elongation of words for metrical considerations (*houres* as a dissyllable, *execution* as a pentasyllable, *bestowne* and *children* as trisyllables, *conclusion* and *commotion* as quadrisyllables).

Mundy's verse lacks sustained dignity and sounds more like versified prose than poetry; his poetry is uninspired and lacking in imagination; his figures are few and usually either of an obvious nature or extremely far-fetched; his humor is paltry and commonplace; his few attempts at generalizations are well-nigh puerile in their triviality; the psychology of his characters is irritatingly naive and unnatural; his *dramatis personae* lack sense, dignity,



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manners, distinction, and character; his dialogue is stiff and stilted. His prose is much better than his verse.

A striking peculiarity of his which may be used as a touch-stone in determining his presence or absence in a dramatic scene in which he may have had a hand, is his peculiar and to some extent haphazard use of the pronouns *thou*, *ye*, and *you*. Unlike his associates and collaborators in this play he observes no nice distinctions in the use of *thou* and *you* in dialogue between persons of different ranks, and uses *ye* (both in the singular and plural) nominatively as well as objectively, but almost never uses *you* as the object of a transitive verb, though he does use it as the object of prepositions. It is not at all unusual for him to use *thou*, *ye* and *you* indiscriminately within the limits of a single sentence (*e.g.*, away ye Rascall, . . . hand off then when I bid thee,"—"you shall have your longing ere ye goe;,"—"You shall breake mine too and ye can;,"—"you knowe that you are knowne to me/ And I haue often sau'de ye from this place/ . . . Thou seest besides" etc.).

Applying to *Sir Thomas Moore* the several kinds of tests named above, I conclude, tentatively but with a considerable degree of assurance, that Mundy was the author or co-author not only of the seven or eight scenes I have previously attributed to him but also of the following six scenes: Act I, scs. 2 and 3; Act II, sc. 2 (deleted by Tyllney and subsequently revised by B); Act IV, scs. 3 and 4; Act V, sc. 2; the rest being the work of his associates.

If these conclusions are warranted we must assign to Mundy all of this play except II 1, some lines in II 2,



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all of II 3 and III 3 (both in C's handwriting), that part of II 4 which is in D's handwriting, III 1 and parts of III 2 which must be attributed to C and E, III 3, part of IV 1 (ll. 310-361 by B), IV 2, 71 lines in Act IV, sc. 5 (by A), and V 1. This being so, it follows that Mundy was the original author of the larger part of the play, though he may have been assisted in plotting it by some of the "army of revisers" whose hands we find in the manuscript version that has come down to us.

Concerning Mundy's theatrical affiliations we know only that about 1580 he was "servant" (? secretary) to the Earl of Oxford and that he was probably one of the actors ("servants") in that Earl's company. Later on, during various periods between 1594 and 1602, he was writing for the Admiral's Men (linked with Lord Strange's Men between 1590 and 1594). He may therefore have written *Moore* for any one of these three companies: Oxford's, the Admiral's, or Strange's. The fact that the play was to be produced by Strange's Men is not proof that the play was written for them: it might have been written for one of the first two and sold to the last after it had been submitted to the Censor, or, less probably, after it had been refused a license. We can only speculate why the manager for whom the play had been written, whoever he was, should have sold it before he knew whether the censor would "allow" it. He may have been short of funds owing to the closure of his theatre because of the plague, he may have thought it inadvisable to meddle with a play calculated to arouse the hostility of the government, he may have thought the play unsuited for his company, he may have lost confidence in the play's drawing powers, etc. It was not at all unusual for a man-



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ager to buy a play and even to pay for it, in whole or in part, before he knew whether it would be "allowed;" and there is no reason why a manager, knowing that he had skilled poets at his beck and call, might not buy a play even after it had been refused a license.



## CHAPTER V

### THOMAS KYD AND HIS SHARE IN THE PLAY

Inasmuch as the penman whom Dr. Greg designated as C is generally regarded as having discharged important functions, probably those of playhouse reviser for Lord Strange's Men, about the years 1591 and 1592, and probably even earlier, it will be advisable to establish his identity before we proceed to consider several interesting problems connected with this play, to wit: the date of its composition and the probable purpose for which it was written. We know by the test of handwriting that C was the penman who prepared the stage "plot" of the second part of Tarlton's *Seven Deadly Sins*<sup>1</sup> (revised by the Admiral's or, more probably, by Strange's Men, about 1590) as well as the now fragmentary "plot" (*B. M., Additional MS. 10449, folio 4*) of a play which Dr. Greg in 1907 identified,<sup>2</sup> with justifiable caution, as Dekker's lost play of *Fortune's Tennis*,<sup>3</sup> a play which *may* have belonged to the Admiral's Company. That the writer of these "plots" and of the portion of *Moore* assigned to C by Dr. Greg was the distinguished and "industrious" Thomas Kyd, the author of the tremendously successful

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<sup>1</sup> This "plot" is *Dulwich MS. xix* and is shown in slightly reduced facsimile in W. Young's *History of Dulwich College*, 1889, II. 5. Cf. facs. no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Henslowe Papers*, London, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare's Hand*, p. 55. The date of this "plot" is even more uncertain than its title. Chambers (*E. S.*, II. 127; IV. 14) guesses it was written in 1602, and Greg (*Review of English Studies*, I. 270) thinks it was "almost certainly" written after October 1597 and "cannot possibly be as late as 1600." The handwriting test disproves both these dates. Cf. facs. no. 21.



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*Spanish Tragedy* and of the first dramatic version of the Hamlet-saga, I shall show in the following pages.

"C," says Dr. Greg,<sup>4</sup> "approaches more nearly than any other of the revisers to the professional type both in calligraphic style and in the distinctive use of the Italian script." Judged by his penmanship, C might very well have been a professional scrivener. Kyd, the biographers say, was the son of a London scrivener and may possibly have "followed his father's profession before he drifted into literature" (E. K. Chambers). Greg thinks it "most likely" that Thomas supported himself by acting as a scrivener for a while after leaving Merchant Taylors' School (which he had entered in 1565, at the age of seven).

Owing to Kyd's unfortunate experiences—arrest, torture and disgrace—in 1593, we are the fortunate possessors of no less than three documents in his handwriting, two almost wholly in a very fine old English script and one in a fine Italian script. The first of these (*MS. Harl. 6849, fol. 218*),<sup>5</sup> discovered by Professor F. S. Boas, is the pathetic letter, undated, but in all probability written in 1593 and after May 30, addressed by him to Sir John Puckering, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England (and presiding officer of the Court of Star Chamber), explaining away his relations with Marlowe and entreat-

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<sup>4</sup> *Shakespeare's Hand*, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> The whole of this long letter is beautifully facsimiled in *The Works of Thomas Kyd* by Professor Boas (Oxford, 1901)—but the type transcript contains a few errors. Cf. Appendix C for correct transcript.



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ing Sir John to intercede in his behalf with "my Lord, whom I haue servd almost theis vj yer<sup>6</sup>es<sup>6</sup> nowe," but who had withdrawn his protection upon a suspicion of "Atheisme." This petition, we shall remind the reader, grew out of Kyd's arrest on May 12, 1593, on a charge of having been concerned in the setting up of certain "lewd and mutinous libells" in various parts of the city.

For the proper understanding of what is to follow we give the following abstract of Boas' excellent account of "sporting" Kyd's painful experiences with the Privy Council. On May 11, 1593, the Council authorized the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Mayor of London to "make search and apprehend" all persons suspected of having a hand in the circulation of seditious libels attacking and threatening the foreign residents, Flemish and other refugees who had settled in London. One of the most offensive of the libels was a rhyme which had been set up on the wall of the Dutch Churchyard a week before; its first quatrain, all that has come down to us, read:

*"You Strangers, that inhabit in this land,  
Note this same writing, do it understand;  
Conceive it well, for safe-guard of your lives,  
Your goods, your children, and your dearest wives."*

The "rhyme" probably went on to threaten the foreigners with violence if they remained in the city. On May 12 Kyd was arrested and thereafter subjected to torture, in

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<sup>6</sup> Boas (*op. cit.*, p. xxiv) erroneously read "three yer<sup>6</sup>es." The error was first pointed out by Professor T. W. Baldwin, who also showed its bearing on Kyd's biography, in his essay "On the Chronology of Thomas Kyd's Plays," in *Modern Language Notes*, June 1925, 40: 343-9.



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accordance with the instructions of the Council, for the purpose of wringing a confession from him. Refusing to confess himself guilty, he was several times put to the torture in Bridewell and in this way he was compelled to make certain depositions, in one of which, also in his own handwriting (*MS. Harl. 6848, fol. 154*), but unsigned, he defends himself against the more serious charge of atheism by asserting that a certain "disputation" on atheism, which had been discovered in his apartment at the time of his arrest was in reality Christopher Marlowe's and had got mixed up with his own papers "by some occasion of or wrytinge in one chamber twoe yeares synce." (An order for Kit Marlowe's arrest was issued on May 18th; two days later he was examined by the Privy Council but was not imprisoned; two weeks later he was stabbed to death in a quarrel under circumstances which Mr. Hotson's brilliant work<sup>7</sup> on the subject has not succeeded in clarifying.)

After his release, the date of which is not known, Kyd found that though he had not been found guilty of the charges preferred against him, his former employer (a noble lord who has not heretofore been identified) refused to retain him longer in his service without the Lord Keeper's (Sir John Puckering's) "former pryuitie." "Worn out and utterly broken by his 'bitter times and priuie passions'," says Boas, Kyd died towards the close of the year 1594.

In what capacity, if not as private secretary, Kyd served his unnamed employer it is impossible to say, but

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<sup>7</sup> *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*, by J. L. Hotson; London, 1925.



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one thing is certain: whoever his Lordship may have been, and I shall advance reasons for thinking that it was Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, "the noblest swain that ever piped on an oaten quill," he was the patron of a company of players for whom Marlowe, as it seems now, was writing in 1591 and 1592 and which included among its members one Thomas Goodale, who, we may recall, was cast for the rôle of Messenger in III. 3 of *Moore*.

That Kyd and Marlowe, the most popular writers of tragedy of the day, were serving the same Lord, and that his Lordship was, very probably, Ferdinando Stanley, is to be inferred from what the distressed Kyd says in his letter to Puckering (see Appendix C) and from our knowledge that *Moore* (in whose making he was both copyist and reviser) was being prepared for production by Strange's Men. In his letter he says: "My first acquaintance w<sup>th</sup> this Marlowe, rose vpon his bearing name to/ serve my Lo: although his L<sup>p</sup> never knewe his service, but in writing for/ his plaie<sup>rs</sup>, ffor never cold my L. endure his name, or sight when he had heard / of his conditions."<sup>8</sup> In this connection we must not overlook the possible significance of the fact that in 1592 and in 1593 Strange's Men produced Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* as

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<sup>8</sup> It may be objected that Kyd might have been a member of Lord Strange's Men and at the same time secretary to Henry Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke. That little weight is to be conceded to this objection will be granted when it is considered that we have no adequate reason for assuming that Pembroke's Men were in existence prior to the last quarter of 1592 (Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, II, 128) and that Kyd tells us that Marlowe had been writing for his (Kyd's) lord's players two years anterior to May 1593.



well as Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*. (Cf. E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, 122-3).

As tending to confirm our deduction that Kyd was referring to Lord Strange, fifth Early of Derby, we may cite the fact that the latter is known to have maintained a pious household;<sup>9</sup> and Kyd, we know, assures Sir John that Marlowe had no personal contact with Lord Strange inasmuch as "the forme of devyne praiers vsed duellie in his L<sup>ps</sup> house" would not "have quadred [=squared] w<sup>th</sup> such reprobates."

The identification of Lord Strange as Kyd's master serves also to explain why the dramatist was not reinstated into his forfeited post after his release. From the *Dictionary of National Biography* we learn that "from 1591 some of the catholics cast their eyes on [Ferdinando lord Strange] as successor to the crown [of England] in the right of his mother, Margaret Clifford." In 1593 (!) Roman Catholic conspirators on the continent sent one Richard Hesketh to persuade him to set up his claim

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<sup>9</sup> Canon F. R. Raines informs us (in his additions to T. W. King's *Lancashire Funeral Certificates*, 1869, p. 67) that Mr. William Leigh, the learned rector of Standish, was the Earl's domestic chaplain and had been his tutor in his early life. *The Stanley Papers* (vol. 31 of the Chetham Society's Publications) and the *Lancashire Funeral Certificates* (pp. 63-69) offer significant evidences of Stanley's piety. On April 15, 1594, the day before he died—possibly as the result of poisoning by Catholic conspirators—he said to one of his physicians: "I am resolved presently to die, and to take away with me only one part of my [coat of] arms, I mean the Eagle's Wings, so will I fly swiftly into the bosom of Christ, my only Saviour."—The Earle of Pembroke, if we may judge from the available evidence, never uttered a pious sentiment or listened to a sermon.



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to the crown on the anticipated death of Elizabeth (though she was not sick at this time)<sup>10</sup> and to rely on Spanish assistance; his loyalty, however, was such that he immediately rejected this proposal, and, at the risk of being assassinated for divulging the plot, delivered Hesketh to justice. (Hesketh was executed at St. Albans on November 29, 1593.) A man of such piety and integrity would not be likely to continue to harbor in his household one who had probably not completely cleared himself of the charges that had been preferred against him. His dismissal of Kyd would be strictly in keeping with his commanding his secretary (?) to terminate his relations with Marlowe. In his memorandum of accusations against Marlowe Kyd says: "by my lords comaundm<sup>t</sup> as in hatred of his life & thoughts J [= I] left & did refraine his companie." In view of these facts it is not impossible that his lordship would also have required Marlowe's discharge from all relations whatsoever with the theatrical company bearing his name,—and this would explain why Kyd refers to Marlowe as an "outcast;" although the probabilities all are, of course, that he was referring only to his atheism. That Kyd refers to Marlowe as an "Ishmaelite" ("one whose hand was against every man") is probably explained by what he says in his memorandum to the Council concerning "his other rashnes in attempting soden pryvie injuries to men."

It may not be superfluous to add that, notwithstanding the city's visitation by the plague, Lord Strange's company had not left London during the early months of 1593, and that it was therefore in a position to produce the play of

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth*, by Frederick Chamberlin, 1922, pp. 98-104.



*Sir Thomas Moore* just as soon as the death-rate would fall to the point where the Rose Theatre might be reopened, as had been done the previous December. On May 6, 1593, the Privy Council issued a license to Lord Strange's Men permitting them to play in any city or town free from the plague "so it be not within seven miles of London or of the Coort." How soon after this they went on tour we do not know, but they had ample time to cast the play prior to May 6th.

The second of the Kyd documents referred to above (*MS. Harl. 6848, fol. 154*) is a single sheet of paper which was first discovered and published in 1921.<sup>11</sup> It consists of twenty-seven lines of fine old English script, considerably less carefully engrossed than the letter to Puckering, was evidently addressed to one or more Lords of the Council, and accuses Marlowe, his former roommate, of atheism and blasphemy. A very fine facsimile of it appears in *English Literary Autographs* (cf. Appendix B and facs. No. 3).

When, undoubtedly as the result of an information laid against him by "some outcast *Ismael*," to use Kyd's own words, his study was searched by the authorities, on May 12, 1593, the day following the Council's order (!), there was discovered among his papers a document consisting of three pages (*MS. Harl. 6848, folios 187-9*), one folio and two octavo, of a "vile hereticall" disputation<sup>12</sup> which

<sup>11</sup> F. K. Brown, "Marlowe and Kyd," *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 2, 1921, p. 355.

<sup>12</sup> Professor W. D. Briggs has shown ("On a Document Concerning Christopher Marlowe," *Studies in Philology*, April 1923, 20; 153-9) that the alleged "disputation" is virtually a transcript of material contained in John Proctor's *The Fall of the Late Arrian*, published in 1549, and that Professor Boas (*op. cit.*, pp.



[illegible]

It is his word & not his form which I find in his & not his name  
restoration is in full fact as offered to it. It is his name & not his  
word which is the word in his & not his name & not his name  
word in his & not his name & not his name & not his name

The mass report of failure to receive the census returns is undoubtedly at least partly due to the fact that many of the people who are supposed to have received them have not yet had time to do so.

[illegible]

3. Till the previous evening Paul was good but for a while if he felt his penis (1) at the bottom in the put forward and that it might be in the air. At some point from now onwards it is great but now not speaking in a "tuff" way.

That I might recommend to be born by someone, perhaps might have been done  
by application of me etc. I would so domestic which I might occasion  
it and will give more effect in regard of it as often was said in attending  
to those persons present to such end and I hope to play off on us provided we find



will say throughly w<sup>th</sup> one & the same perpetuall truth  
& consent.

188

177

What the Scriptures do witness of God it is cleere &  
manifest enough for first Paul to the R<sup>o</sup>mans declareth  
that he is everlasting And to Timoni moreall & visible  
to the Thebaldians living & true James teacheth also  
that he is incomutable which things in the old Law &  
prophety likewise are thought in fixt inculcate so often  
that they cannot escape the Reader And yf we think  
thes epithetons not vainly put but truly & evidently  
advised And that they agree to God And that they we  
must not beleve him to be God to whom the same agree not  
we therfor call God which onlie is worthe this name &  
appellation Everlasting, Visible, Incomutable Incom-  
prehensible Mortall &c.

What the Scriptures do witness of God it is cleere &  
manifest enough & so forth as is above rehearsed.

And yf Jesus Christ even he which was borne of Marie  
was God so shall he be a visible God comprehensible &  
mortall which is not compted God to me quoth great  
Athanasius of Alexandria &c.

For yf we be not able to comprehend nor the Angels  
nor our own soules which are things creat to wrongfully  
then & absurdly we make the Creator of them comprehen-  
sible especially contrary to so manifest testimonies of  
the Scriptures &c.



Kyd affirmed he had from Marlowe. Kyd's statement ("I did deliver up . . . some fragments of a disputation, touching that opinion, affirmed by Marlowe to be his") has been interpreted as meaning that Marlowe had claimed the papers as his property or as the product of his pen, although his words may mean only that the papers related to opinions shared by Marlowe.

It is rather singular that prior to Professor Briggs no one had suggested that the "treatise" might "quite possibly be in Marlowe's handwriting." In what follows I shall try to show that, as a matter of fact, the disputation, written in a neat, professional script, is in Kyd's handwriting. Fortunately for our investigation, Kyd's letter, his accusation, and the pages of *Moore* written by C, contain a sufficient admixture of Italian letters to enable us to say with positiveness that the hand which wrote the letter—and there is no valid reason for doubting that it is a Kyd holograph—also wrote the incriminating disputation. If Kyd meant to imply that the latter was in Marlowe's hand he was lying. To make our demonstration more complete and convincing we must include in our study an analysis of the penmanship of the "plot" of *The Seven Deadly Sins* (prepared in 1591 or earlier, and the property of Lord Strange's players) and of the fragmentary "plot" preserved at the British Museum (*Additional MS. 10449, folio 4*) which Dr. Greg and others are convinced, rightly, are in the handwriting of C.

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*cxii-cxiii*) reprinted in reverse order the three pages constituting it. A fine facsimile of the first page of this document is given in Professor Boas' book between pp. *cxii* and *cxiii*, but his transcription contains many errors. See Appendix A for correct transcript. Facs. no. 4 presents the reader with the second page of this document.



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Because of the relatively large amount of material at our disposal it will probably be best to present the evidence to the eye by means of a Table showing in parallel rows the forms of some of the letters occurring in the documents under discussion. In studying the Tables (facss. nos. 5 and 6) the reader is bound to notice that Kyd was the master of several styles of penmanship; that the nature of the document determined his selection of the style of lettering for that particular document and the precision and ornateness with which it was written; that forms of letters which appear commonly in one document may not appear at all in others; that each page bristles with letter forms which do not occur in other pages; and that each document contains a sufficient number of identical forms to establish its calligraphic identity with the others. Such a phenomenon as this would not be rare in the penmanship of any fluent and cultured Elizabethan penman, and presents nothing to be wondered at in the penmanship of one who, in addition, had probably for some time earned his living as a scrivener.

In document 1, the letter to Puckering, which was evidently written in the scrivener's best manner, the letters being formed clearly, correctly and beautifully,—as if the penman had wished thereby to symbolize his correctness of behavior, as well as his deference,—we note a large sprinkling of italic letters among the English, a slight deterioration in the penmanship towards the bottom of the long folio page, and the introduction of new forms on the back of the page. The writing in the document accusing Marlowe of extreme heresies was also written deliberately but much less formally; it therefore comes near to being a specimen of Kyd's ordinary handwriting.



Lig. A	N	R	P	f	p	p	p	p	s	e	r	n
Moore	e	i	A	f	f	f	f	f	e	s	e	e
Plots	f	A	A	f					f	g		
Disp.	A	f		f	f	f			e			

Lig. A	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
Moore	H	H							R	H	H	H
Plots	H		f	f					R	e	H	H
Disp.	H		f						H	H		

Lig. A	p	r		T	T	23	23	C	C	C
Moore				T		23	23	Q	B	C
Plots				T		B				C
Disp.				T	T	E				C



Let. A. S.	m m m m	47	p p p p p p
More. S. S.	M M Q Q	P	v p p p
Plots S	M m N P		p p
Disp. S	L L N. N. P P		p

Let. A. S.	p p p p p p p p p p
More. S. S.	p p p p p p p p p p
Plots S	p p p p p p p p p p
Disp. S. S.	p p p p p p p p p p

Let. A.	e	L p e e e
More	E E F	g g e e e
Plots	E E	g e e e
Disp.	E E	g g e e

No. 6—C's and Kyd's handwriting compared.



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Examination of the rows of letters marked "Lr & Ac" in facss. 5 and 6 will show that though these documents were written within a short time of each other each contains forms of letters not found in the other. In the facsimiles (nos. 5 and 6) I have indicated the characters occurring only in the letter to Puckering by a tiny circle under them and those occurring only in the accusation by a tiny x under them. Those who will take the time to examine the facsimile of the Puckering letter (in Professor Boas' book) may be surprised to discover that on page 1 Kyd employed a variety of capital *I* which he avoids on page 2. The point is mentioned here only as illustrating the fact that in the presence of a sufficient number of identities the presence of a number of specific differences in two calligraphic specimens does not preclude a common source.

The second row in facss. nos. 5 and 6, marked "Moore," calls for especial attention, for it depicts tracings of C's letters in the pages of the play that are in his handwriting. Here we undoubtedly have the writer's ordinary penmanship. The particular letters which serve to identify C with Kyd are especially the following: the *A*, the italic *f*, the initial and medial English *f*, the *g*, the italic *H*, the *I*, the italic *R*, the English initial *s* and especially the English *st*-digraph, and the italic *T*. Points of identity in the above letters are too numerous to require specific mention. But it must not be overlooked that these writings reproduce each other not only as regards the forms of individual letters but as to writing habits, shading, slant, pen-pressure, rhythm, etc.

That C's writing is identical with that of the "plots" of *The second parte of the Seuen Deadlie sinns* and of the



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alleged *Fortune's Tennis* is apparent at a glance, even though careful scrutiny reveals the occurrence of a few specific variations. Convincing points of identity, apparent even to casual observation, are to be found in the *A*, the *D*, the *E*, the italic *f*, the *G*, the *H*, the *I*, the *P*, the *R*, the italic *s* and *S*, the *T*, and the italic *y*. Doubt on this score is impossible. Examination of facss. nos. 5 and 6 will show numerous equally significant identities between Kyd's letter and accusation, on the one hand, and the "plots," on the other.

The fourth item in our investigation (*Harl. MS. 6848, ff. 187-189<sup>b</sup>*) is the surviving remnant of an essay or "disputation" on atheism (*cf.* Appendix A), as it is commonly called, which was discovered among Kyd's "waste and idle papers" at the time of his arrest and which, he said, he voluntarily handed over to the officers. This consists of three pages of commentary written in a neat *Italian* hand and bears the following endorsement (in all probability written by the officer who made the arrest) in old English script: "12 may 1593/ vile hereticall Concept/ denyinge the deity of Jhesus/ Christ o<sup>r</sup> Savior fownd/ emongest the pap<sup>r</sup>s of Thos/ kydd prisoner."/ Just beneath this memorandum are the following words, also in old English script: "w<sup>ch</sup> he affirmethe that he/ had ffrom Marlowe."<sup>13</sup> In the pages of this disputation

<sup>13</sup> After Marlowe's death Kyd made the statement that the papers on which the "fragments of [the] disputation" are written got "shouffled w<sup>th</sup> some of myne (vnknown to me) by some occasion of o<sup>r</sup> wrytinge in one chamber twoe yeares synce." It does not appear that any other of Marlowe's papers got shuffled with some of Kyd's. If Kyd and Marlowe wrote in one room on only one occasion it is highly incredible that some of the latter's papers got among the former's without either one noticing



—nter of Thomas' mare and his man "Hobart" left him

1/10/11

From a letter written by the one who would be the owner of the mare, it is stated that the mare was not sold to any one, but was still in the hands of the original owner, and was not sold to any one.

1/10/11

From a letter written by the one who would be the owner of the mare, it is stated that the mare was not sold to any one, but was still in the hands of the original owner, and was not sold to any one.

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From a letter written by the one who would be the owner of the mare, it is stated that the mare was not sold to any one, but was still in the hands of the original owner, and was not sold to any one.







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the letters are not so varied as in the other documents, as our facsimiles show, but there is yet no great difficulty in finding such and so many connecting links between it and the other papers as to prove identity of scrivenership. The most obvious of these connecting links are the following letters: *A, B, C, D, E, F, f, G, H, M, N, P, p, R, T, W* and *y*.

Another link connecting Kyd with *Sir Thomas Moore* and tending to confirm the opinion that he had a hand in penning it, is the presence of his autograph and what is probably a half signature of his on the vellum wrapper of the *John-a-Kent* manuscript.<sup>14</sup> At the top of the wrapper, enclosed within an ornamental border, is the title, *The Book of John/ A kent & John a/ Cumber*, in large Gothic letters. This title was undoubtedly written by the same hand that wrote the title and made the exactly similar

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it; if they shared a room in common for a considerable period, we would expect other papers, too, to get in among Kyd's. And it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that in two years Kyd would not have discovered his associate's papers among his own and either destroyed them or returned them. Marlowe's handwriting may have resembled Kyd's as much, for example, as Kyd's resembled that of the writer of the Addition; and, if so, Kyd might venture to attribute the incriminating papers to the dead Marlowe. We may recall in this connection that Sir Walter Raleigh, at his trial for treason, had the effrontery to deny having written a certain document which was unquestionably in his own handwriting.

<sup>14</sup> This manuscript is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California. A collotype facsimile of this play was published by John S. Farmer among his *Tudor Facsimile Texts* in 1912. Miss M. St. Clare Byrne edited the play for the Malone Society in 1923. J. P. Collier edited it, with the addition of many fraudulent readings, in 1851.



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ornamental border in *Moore*. Dr. Greg had noticed (*Shakespeare's Hand*, p. 56) that a few hasty stage directions in the margins of *John-a-Kent* are in the handwriting of C. What he had not noticed (but Miss Byrne had) is the fact that just about the middle of the wrapper bearing the title there is what Miss Byrne has described, not quite accurately, as the "scribble of a name, apparently *V thomas*." The writing, except the unusually tall English capital *V*, is now very pale and reads *l g V thomas Thomas* in a penmanship which is unquestionably that of C. It is not unreasonable to assume that these words, being in the handwriting of C and of the writer of the Puckering letter, are the Christian name of Thomas Kyd, done in an idle moment or while trying out his pen.<sup>15</sup>

John P. Collier thought<sup>16</sup> that the handwriting of the penman whom Dr. Greg designated as C, and whom I identify as Thomas Kyd, is very like that of George Peele in his letter to Burleigh (*MS. Lansd. 99, fol. 151*) and his autographic description of a tilt (*MS. Addit. 21432, fol. 9<sup>a</sup>*), "the only surviving examples of Peele's hand" (Greg), both of which are excellently facsimiled in *English Literary Autographs*. On a first glance, and only then, there are a few striking superficial resemblances between Peele's *A, M, E, P, f, l, p*, and *y*, and the same letters in Kyd's documentary remains; but careful inspection shows that the writing differs essentially from Kyd's in the more important matters of size, spacing, pen-pressure, shading, proportions, slant, and rhythm.

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<sup>15</sup> Inasmuch as the signature ("Th. Kydd") to the letter to Puckering is written in Roman letters, the *Kent* and *Puckering* signatures cannot be compared.

<sup>16</sup> J. P. Collier, *English Dramatic Poetry*, 1879, 3: 197.



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Spedding's opinion that hands C and D are not one and the same and can be distinguished from each other has not yet been universally accepted, notwithstanding even the opinion of more recent students and the authority of modern paleographers. It is true that some of the letters and even certain words (*e.g., the, in, an*) in the writing of C do bear a striking resemblance to the corresponding letters and words in the writing of D, but just this sort of resemblance is to be expected in documents written in the same calligraphic system in any given period. Most minuscules admit of so little variation that, as far as their mere form is concerned, they furnish a very inadequate standard of comparison. Likeness among them is of much less value than unlikeness. With the majuscules the case is wholly different because, by virtue of their position, size, and complexity, they permit of great variations in form and ornamentation. That hands C and D present sufficiently marked differential characteristics as regards the forms of the letters and the position and degree of the shadings—the two most important elements entering into a handwriting—to enable one to say positively that they were not the handiwork of one person will be evident on a careful examination of facss. nos. 2, 3, 7 and 8, and a comparison of these with facss. 10, 11, 12 and 13. C separates his speeches by a short horizontal stroke, three-fourths of an inch or less in length; D separates his speeches by a long horizontal stroke often extending up to and even beyond the last word of the speakers' last lines and commencing with a characteristic serif resembling a "2." (To enable the student to form his own opinion as regards D's supposed identity with Shakspeare, I have placed traced facsimiles of the letters occurring in



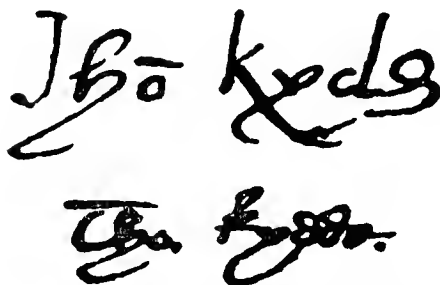
Shakspere's signatures under the corresponding letters by D in facs. no. 14.)

Only one other extant autograph purports to be Thomas Kyd's signature. It is mentioned and facsimiled in *English Literary Autographs* and discussed in Professor Boas' work on Kyd (p. lxxv). It constitutes one of two "autographs" occurring in an anonymous prose pamphlet, *The Murder of John Brewen*, which was published by the stationer John Kyd (not known to have been related to Thomas), in 1592, and of which only one copy is extant. One of these autographs, reading *Jho* [ ? *Tho*] *Kyde* [ ? *Kyds*], occurs at the foot of the title-page of this unique tract; the other, reading *Tho. kydde*, occurs at the close of the pamphlet.<sup>17</sup> "The names," says Dr. Greg, "appear to be in different hands" and the one at the end "bears no resemblance" to the signature appended to the letter to Puckering. From the marked similarity between the English *h*'s and *y*'s in these two putative signatures, I am strongly inclined to think them the work of one person, and from certain indications which I shall discuss elsewhere I consider them both forgeries. It would be interesting to know whether this unique tract, the property of the Lambeth Palace Library, bore these names before 1863 when it was reprinted, for the first time, by Collier.<sup>18</sup> Cf. facs. no. 9.

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<sup>17</sup> Collier unblushingly says (*Notes and Queries*, March 29, 1862, p. 21) that the name is spelt "John Kyd" on the title-page and "Thomas Kydde" at the end. There is nothing but Collier's word for attributing this pamphlet to Thomas Kyd. The author's name is not mentioned in the entry at Stationer's Hall, June 28, 1592. The argument as to Kyd's authorship of *Arden of Feversham* on the basis of certain similarities between the play and the pamphlet strikes me as exceedingly weak.





No. 9—Putative "Kyd" autographs (x2).

Before dismissing the subject of Kyd's identification with C, the copyist and author of part of *Sir Thomas Moore* as well as the writer of several of the extant "plots" of Lord Strange's Company, it may perhaps be as well to meet a possible objection. The general assumption, based, I am sure, on a misinterpretation of Kyd's letter to Puckering, is that he had ceased to write for the stage about 1587, six years prior to his arrest. But, I submit, his reference to "some occasion of o<sup>r</sup> wryting in one

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<sup>18</sup> Inasmuch as "John" was very often written "Jhō" and "Thomas" "Thō," and inasmuch as a *T* was often, as in the case we are now considering, made like a *J*, there is room for legitimate difference of opinion as to whether the Christian name on the title-page of *Brewen* should be read "John" or "Thomas." Mr. Boas at first read it as "Thomas" but subsequently, on re-examining the manuscript, interpreted it as "John." I have been told that the presence of a stroke above the *o* indicates the omission of an *n* and proves the correct reading to be "John;" but, as a matter of fact, "Thomas" was often written "Thō," e.g., in the signatures of Sir Thomas Fairfax (*B. M., Add. MS. 18979, fo. 204; Harl. MS. 7502, fo. 10*), of Thomas Dekker (*Bod. Lib., Malone 235*), etc.



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chamber twoe yeares synce" may much more plausibly be regarded as an indication that he and Marlowe were writing in collaboration (and most probably on a play) in 1591.<sup>19</sup>

In 1920<sup>20</sup> Mr. W. T. Smedley expressed it as his opinion that the Puckering letter was written by the scribe who wrote *The Conference of Pleasure* in the famous *Northumberland Manuscript* and that the "dissertation" was written by the scribe who wrote a letter to King James I. on March 23, 1623, and is signed by Francis St. Alban. Having given the *Northumberland Manuscript* very careful study in another connection, I am prepared to say that no part of it is in the handwriting of the letter to Sir John; as to Mr. Smedley's second item, of which I have not seen a facsimile, I can say only that he must be mistaken.

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<sup>19</sup> We cannot sufficiently censure such obvious bias in the discussion of matters of fact as is betrayed by Mr. J. H. Ingram (*Christopher Marlowe and his Associates*, 1904, p. 262) who, in attempting to whitewash Marlowe's character, pretends to question the genuineness of the letter to Puckering and yet speaks of the *Brewen* "autograph" as Kyd's "authentic signature." That Mr. Ingram was guilty of other unpardonable transgressions is shown by Mr. Hotson (*op. cit.*, pp. 21-2). In attempting to cast doubt on the genuineness of these documents (the letter to Puckering, the theological treatise, and the two versions of Baines' Note), Mr. Ingram makes the utterly unwarranted assertion (*op. cit.*, p. 262) that "the watermarks in the paper of all four of these documents bear a suspicious family resemblance to each other . . . and indicates that they are all on paper belonging to one individual." There is no watermark on the first page of the Puckering letter (fo. 218); the watermark on the second page (fo. 219) is nothing like the globe on ff. 187 and 188 of the theological treatise (there is no watermark on fo. 189); the watermark in the Baines document is a jug which resembles that in fo. 217 (*Harl. 6849*) but differs from it in containing the letters B S (?) instead of A I.

<sup>20</sup> *Times Literary Supplement*, July 22, p. 472.



## CHAPTER VI

### HENRY CHETTLE'S (A'S) HAND IN THE PLAY

The identification, which I now make, of the penmanship of Dr. Greg's A on folio 6<sup>a</sup> of *Moore* as that of the seven autographs of Henry Chettle<sup>1</sup> in Henslowe's *Diary* at Dulwich College is a comparatively simple matter. A comparison of the facsimiles of Chettle's receipts, published in Dr. Greg's *English Literary Autographs from 1550-1650* (Plates VI and VII), with the facsimile of folio 6<sup>a</sup> by A in John S. Farmer's facsimile of the play, shows "an English hand, almost devoid of Italian mixture, clear and legible, with a good deal of individual character" (so Dr. Greg described A's handwriting in 1911). The hand is by no means elegant; the letters are small; the lines are close together; the words are not linked to one another; the loops of the letters on one line fairly collide with the loops of the letters in the line above or below; the writing is heavy and rather slow; the proportions of the letters are the same in both; the forms of the individual letters are the same; the lines do not run uphill or downhill; there are no fancy flourishes; the writing habits as to joining certain letters to each other and separating certain letters from others are the same; the shading habits are the same; the *i*-dots are heavy and slightly to the right and only a little above the letter; the virgule is the same; the habit of terminating

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<sup>1</sup> Chettle "was born presumably about 1560 . . . became a compositor and took up his freedom in 1584." Between 1598 and 1603 he wrote for the Admiral's as well as for the Earl of Worcester's Men.



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the *n* with a heavy elongated second minim is the same; certain combinations of letters, e.g., *of*, *the*, *sho*, *ct*, *all*, *pla*, *doo*, *and*, *present(s)*, make an identical visual impression (cf. facss. nos. 15 and 16).

In addition to Chettle's unique *n* and heavy vertical Italian *S* and striking *ct*-digraph, we find in two of his receipts (for May 9, 1603, and February 16, 1599) a remarkable calligraphic peculiarity which occurs frequently in his holographic contribution to *Sir Thomas Moore*: it is the way in which the final stroke of the minuscule *i* runs up above the line to join with the *i*-dot, thus making the *i* look somewhat like an old English *d*. This is strikingly shown in the words "Receiued," "Pythias," "Philip," and "written," in the receipts, and in the words "will (l. 1), "like" (l. 1), "seeming" (l. 8), "Prince" (l. 13), "fraile" (l. 14), "shines" (l. 14), "if" (l. 16), etc. The relative scarcity of this characteristic in the receipts (1598-1603) and its frequency in *Moore* may be an indication that the *Moore* page was written several years before the receipts.<sup>2</sup> This is probably also shown by the fact that by the time he was writing receipts for Henslowe he seems to have very largely discarded his habits of writing indubitable *n*'s for *u*'s and of prolonging the final minim of his *n*'s and *m*'s downward and terminating them below the line.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Greg (*The Book of Sir T. M.*, p. viii) thought that "the interest of the hand [lay] in the fact that the writer was accustomed to the old convention with regard to the use of *u* and *v*, but was trying to adopt the new" and therefore twice changed consonantal *u* in the middle of a word to a *v*. That this cannot be right is shown by two facts: in his receipts Chettle always writes an *n*-like *u* for a *v* in the middle of a word (e.g., *Receined*, *hane*), and in *Moore* he writes *heanen* (heaven), *prone* (proue), *senen* (seuen), *enen* (euen), *greende* (greeude), *leaning* (leauing), etc. In l. 9 he originally wrote *moone* for *mooue* and changed it to *moove*, probably to make it clear that he did not mean the moon. Why he corrected the *n* in *innited* (inuitd) I cannot guess.



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It may possibly be objected that Chettle is not known to have written dramatic literature much before February 1598 (when he was collaborating with Mundy on the Second Part of *Robin Hood*), but that he had been so employed considerably before this date is evident from Meres' mention of him (in 1598) as "among the best for Comedy."

That in September 1592 Henry Chettle and D (if D was Shakspeare) were not acting in and writing for the same company would seem to be clear from what the former has to say of the latter in his *Kind-Harts Dreame* (entered in the Stationers' Register on December 8, 1592). In defending himself against the charge of having wronged two of his contemporaries in the publication of Greene's tirade, *Groats-worth of Wit*, which he edited and printed, he says: "With neither of them [Marlowe and Shakspeare] that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them [Marlowe] I care not if I neuer be: The other, whome at that time I did not so much spare, as since I wish I had, for that . . . I am as sorry as if the original fault had beene my fault, because *my selfe haue seene his demeanor no lesse ciuill, than he exelent in the qualitie he professes*: Besides diuers of worship haue reported his vprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty [*i.e.*, honorable disposition], and his facetious [= felicitous] grace in writing, that aprooues his Art." From the words I have printed in italics we seem to be warranted in concluding that Chettle had made the personal acquaintance of Shakspeare—there is hardly any doubt he had Shakspeare in mind—since the publication of Greene's "scald triviall lying pamphlet." It is from his own observation that he testifies to Shakspeare's "ciuill demeanor" and excellence as an actor. At this time Chettle was probably a member of the Admiral's Men and Shakspeare of Strange's.



## CHAPTER VII

### THOMAS HEYWOOD'S (B'S) HAND IN THE PLAY

Concerning B's hand, "an ill-formed current hand," Dr. Greg had this to say in 1923:<sup>1</sup> "Hand B should be compared with that of *The Captives*, &c., (MS. Egerton 1994, fols. 52-95) at the British Museum, which is presumably Thomas Heywood's. There is a considerable resemblance both in the writing and the spelling, but there are also differences which make it impossible to venture on an identification." In a subsequent discussion<sup>2</sup> of Heywood's handwriting, Dr. Greg again calls attention to the "somewhat close general resemblance" between the atrocious penmanship of B and of the author-scribe of *The Captives* (licensed in 1624 as "A new Play") and of *The Escapes of Jupiter* (1611-1613?), but he cautions us that "specific differences preclude the identification of the two, although the probable difference of twenty to thirty years in date would of course allow considerable latitude for change."

That Thomas Heywood was the writer of the extant manuscript of *The Captives* seems to me to have been proved beyond question by Professor Alexander C. Judson in his semi-popular edition of the play in 1921 and by Dr. Greg in a valuable contribution by him to the *Brandl-Festschrift* in 1925 (*Palaestra*, Nr. 147-148).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare's Hand*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *English Literary Autographs*, Plate XXII.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Greg's paper deals not only with *The Captives* but with Heywood's autograph MS. of *The Escapes of Jupiter* (Harl. MS. 1994, ff. 74-95).



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With this mass of manuscript material before him as a standard of comparison, it is almost inconceivable that a careful study would not enable the investigator to say positively whether folios 7<sup>a</sup> and 16 of *Sir Thomas Moore* were or were not written by Heywood, especially seeing that the two sets of manuscripts are of the same nature (dramatic dialogue), both written on similar sheets of paper, neither showing indications of mental or physical disease, and there being nothing to indicate that they were not both written under similar circumstances (*i.e.*, while the author was more or less comfortably seated at a table with long sheets of paper before him). What the student has to do, however, in such a case as that before us, is to make allowances for such changes in a person's chirography as inevitably develop as one grows older, especially if that one be a person who has done a great deal of writing. We have already seen that Chettle's handwriting changed in many respects within the short period of five or six years. That Heywood was the author or part-author of more than two hundred and twenty plays we know from his statement in the Epistle to *The English Traveler* (1633) that he had had "either an entire hand or at the least a maine finger" in that many plays.

Both B and Heywood write a small and almost illegible hand, averaging six lines to the inch in continuous speech and five lines in distributed speeches; their lines are fairly straight; the loops of the letters on one line are kept from being entangled in the letters of the lines below and above; the slant of the letters seems to be about the same; the individual letters bear only a slight resemblance to the ideal or correct forms (as these would appear in a guide to correct penmanship); the pen-pressure is identical in



both; their words are not linked to one another, though occasionally they write two words as if they were one; both are economical in the employment of flourishes and ornamentation; the writing of both is cramped and angular; both dot their *i*'s scrupulously; both separate their speeches from one another by a very short line (half an inch) under the first word of the last line of each speech; both indulge in frequent pen-lifts, *i.e.*, both have the habit of writing only a few letters with one continuous pen-movement; both employ two varieties of *h*, two varieties of *p* (English and Roman), two kinds of *a* (closed and open, the latter so much like a *u* that Dr. Greg read "deales" [deals] "deules" [devil's]), *e*'s that look like *o*'s (hence Dr. Greg read "dobble" [double] "debble" [devil]), *f*'s that look like *st*'s, *r*'s that look like *c*'s and *v*'s; the pattern of the letters are identical; in both, the *h*'s, *p*'s and *x*'s are often indistinguishable (only the context enables one to say what a particular letter is); both are exceedingly careless about having or not having the correct number of minims in their *n*'s and *m*'s and even in their *u*'s and *a*'s; in both (as in Chettle) the *i* is linked to its dot so that it looks like a *d*; both sometimes make an *m* instead of a *u* (hence B writes "mmch" for "much" in *Moore* and "gime" for "giue" in *Jupiter*); in both *o* often looks like an undotted *i* (hence we find "dill" for "Doll" in *Moore*); in both *s* often looks like *st* (hence "supp" in *Moore* looks like "stupp"); both at times run words together (hence we find "am an" for "a man" in *Moore*, and "sheis" for "she is" in *Captives*); both represent initial *u*-sound by a *v*; in



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both a mesial v-sound is represented by a *u*; and so forth.<sup>4</sup> Cf. facsimiles nos. 17 and 18.

Dr. Greg's correct observation that there are [a few] specific differences between B's and Heywood's handwriting calls for careful consideration, even though he has not specified what these differences are. It is a matter of universal experience that the handwriting of a person who writes much—and we know that Heywood was a prolific writer—undergoes considerable change as he grows older; sometimes only a few years or even only a change in circumstances suffice to bring about recognizable and significant changes in a penman's calligraphy,<sup>5</sup> as well as in his spelling, punctuation, habits as to capitalization, employment of abbreviations and flourishes, etc. But, notwithstanding these changes, there always remain enough of his essential characteristics to enable the careful investigator to establish his identity.

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<sup>4</sup> If the reader will take the trouble to familiarize himself with the penmanship of B in the pages of *Moore* and of Heywood in *Jupiter* and in *Captives* (fragments of which are reproduced in *English Literary Autographs*, Plate XXII)—not merely by looking at the facsimiles but by going over the writing with a dry pen,—or, better still, by trying to imitate it—he will not only see the similarities in form, but will recognize the identities in slant, pen-pressure, pen-lifts, shading, etc., and thus learn to recognize the peculiar rhythm characteristic of this hand, leaving him not the slightest doubt that the penmanship is identical and that B and Heywood were one.

<sup>5</sup> It is largely by virtue of this phenomenon that Sir Edward M. Thompson was enabled to conclude (“The Autograph Manuscripts of Anthony Mundy,” *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, London, 1919, xiv, 325-353) that the manuscript of *John-a-Kent* was written two or three years before *Sir Thomas Moore*.



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In the case before us this matter possesses great interest even apart from its bearing on our immediate problem, for it so happens that Heywood's penmanship shows, in addition to increasing carelessness, deterioration, coarsening and illegibility, specific differences not only between his contribution to *Moore* and his two other manuscripts but equally pronounced specific differences between *Jupiter* and *Captives*. That in the presence of a sufficient number of peculiar personal characteristics the occurrence of a number of differences in two documents does not preclude a common authorship is sufficiently borne out by the fact that the penmanship of the manuscript of *The Escapes of Jupiter*, written in all probability between 1611 and 1613 and presenting salient differences from the calligraphic habits shown in the manuscript of *The Captives*, written, there is reason to believe, in 1619 or 20, is conceded to be that of Heywood. The specific differences between *Moore* and *Jupiter* are not much greater and not more significant than the differences between *Jupiter* and *Captives*, though the former couple are separated by an interval of some twenty years and the latter only by about eight years.

*Moore*, *Jupiter*, and *Captives* differ from one another specifically in the following respects: (1) in the last (C) almost every final *n*, *m*, and *u* (and sometimes even a final *e*) has a shorter or longer horizontal dash over it; in *Jupiter* (J) this is very rare; in *Moore* (M) it does not occur at all; (2) in C the letter *f* is almost invariably doubled initially, mesially and finally (hence *deaff*, *off*, *ffayre*, *ffor*, *offt*); this is rarely so in J (except in the word *off* [*of*]), and unknown in M; (3) J contains a large sprinkling of minuscular Italian *p*'s which occur



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nowhere in C or in M; (4) double-*n* mesially is very common in C, less so in J and rare in M;<sup>6</sup> (5) a mesial small Italian *c* is very common in C, much less so in J and almost unknown in M; (6) in C the epsilon variety of *e* is very common, less so in J and wholly wanting in M; (7) Italian capital *C*'s are of frequent occurrence in C, unknown in M; (8) f-shaped Italian *s*'s occur in J, not in M and C; (9) in J and in C we find many Italian final *s*'s which do not occur in M; (10) in M the punctuation marks are few and limited to periods (colons and commas occur rarely); in J these punctuation marks<sup>7</sup> are more frequently employed and question marks are not uncommon; (11) Heywood's characteristic old English capital *R*, so common in M, does not occur in J or in C, except in proper names;<sup>8</sup> (12) the left-shouldered *r* which occurs very often in M, is rarely (if ever) employed in J and in C, probably to avoid confusion with epsilon *e*; (13) the perfectly good *k* which we find in M does not occur in J or in C, being replaced by a modern-looking *b*; (14) in J and in C we find the frequent employment of a spurred

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<sup>6</sup> On fol. 16<sup>b</sup> of *Moore* we find "hannde;" Greg (*S. T. M.*, p. 93, line 70) erroneously reads "hande." In M we also find "doonne," "ennemyes."

<sup>7</sup> Here we also find a very small number of long commas resembling a large caret lying on one of its sides (the apex being to the right.) In *Captives* this "peculiar mark," as Dr. Greg calls it, is very common; in *Moore* it occurs rarely as a slightly elongated comma or as a virgule, *e.g.*, in line 5 on folio 16<sup>b</sup> (Greg, p. 93).

<sup>8</sup> Heywood's growing habit of using capital letters freely probably also resulted from a desire to make his penmanship more legible.



*b*, spurred *a*, and spurred *o*,<sup>9</sup> not one of which occurs in M; (15) in M a capital *L* occurs only as the initial of names and titles, but in J and in C a capital *L*, resembling a perpendicular cramped "2," is fairly common as the initial of other words; in J we find *L*'s whose shape is intermediate between the *L* of M and of C; (16) we find in J and in C a few instances of a small Italian *y*, initially and mesially, which occurs not at all in M; (17) in M hyphens do not occur between the components of such compound words as *bone fiers*, *wher too*, *smith felde*, but they do occur in C; (18) as he grew older Heywood seems to have become increasingly addicted to the habit of adding a final *e* to his words and to doubling certain letters, especially the *d*, *e*, *g*, *t*, *h*, *n*, *o*, *p* and *f*, hence we find him writing (in C) *cann*, *canott*, *ragge*, *ytt*, *warr*, *thee*, *mee*, *beesydes*, *perhappys*, *goodde*, *badd*, *jhoviall*, etc., but we find such absurd spellings even in J (*e.g.*, *preferr-innge*, *fferfull*, etc.) and also in M (*honner*, *thatt*, *marsse*, *vppon*, *ennemyes*, etc.).

There are in B and in Heywood several significant points of agreement as regards spelling, even though this phenomenon is ordinarily a most unreliable guide in the identification of a penman. These are the habits, manifested in M, J and C, of almost invariably writing *weare* for *were*, *suer* for *sure*, *theare* for *there*, *heare* for *here*, *aiu* for *av* (*e.g.*, *gainue*, *slaine*), of writing the first syllable of *neglect* and *negligence* with a *c* instead of a *g*, and of spelling such words as *bench*, *wench* and *French*

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<sup>9</sup> The spurred letters were probably adopted by Heywood for the purpose of enabling the printer to distinguish a *b* from an *l* (in *Moore* all his *b*'s are *l*'s), an *a* from a *u* and an *o* from an *e*, *i* or *u*. Heywood, we know, was aware of the badness of his penmanship.



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with *sh* instead of *ch*, a spelling not recorded in the *N. E. D.*

Observant students of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century calligraphy had occasion to comment on the interesting fact that fluent Elizabethan penmen, lay as well as professional, often wrote two or even three different hands.<sup>10</sup> Study of the facsimiles published in *English Literary Autographs* shows that Thomas Dekker "wrote two, or really three, distinct hands" (Greg); that Anthony Mundy "used two distinct styles of writing, an ordinary English hand, and [a] rather rough Italian or 'pseudo-Italian' script" (Greg); that George Chapman "wrote two wholly different hands, an English hand . . . and an elegant Italian script" (Greg); that George Peele's penmanship "differs greatly in style" in the only two specimens of his handwriting extant;<sup>11</sup> that John Marston's Roman penmanship offers such variations that the British Museum catalogue claims only a few lines on fol. 5<sup>a</sup> of *MS. Royal 18A. xxxi* as being "apparently autograph," whereas Dr. Greg considers fol. 2<sup>a</sup> of that document (a description of the pageant presented to James I. and Christian IV. of Denmark) as also a Marston holograph; and that Thomas Nashe wrote two distinct hands, as did also Ben Jonson and John Day.

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<sup>10</sup> It is because of this phenomenon that it is impossible to say definitely that Shakspeare could not have been the writer of "the Addition" in *Sir Thomas Moore*. All that can logically be said is that at present the evidence from the handwriting is overwhelmingly against the theory that folios 8<sup>a</sup>, 8<sup>b</sup>, and 9<sup>a</sup> of *Moore* are a Shakspeare holograph.

<sup>11</sup> The surviving Peele documents are written in a large, firm, clear, old Roman hand with only the slightest admixture of old English letters—an extremely unfortunate circumstance for our investigation of the identity of the writer of the Addition.



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Novel or startling though the statement may sound, it is a fact that Thomas Heywood, "the most lovable of the Elizabethan dramatists" (Judson), whose name — like John Day's — might almost be a by-word for atrocious penmanship, at times wrote a hand that might almost be described as elegant. Thus, for example, the stage-direction ("Enter Thomas Ashburne the younger brother to Jhon A Merchant wth one of his factors: — Fact: Gibson")<sup>12</sup> at the head of *Captives*, V. 1, is written in a manner that would delight any student delving into dramatic manuscripts of the period. Dr. Greg rightly infers that the changed penmanship "illustrates the effect of a change of pen (after the word 'Enter'), but he does not point out that in this stage-direction (*cf.* facs. no. 18), written in a mixture of Italian and old English letters, we have such a capital *T*, capital *A*, small *h*, small *y*, small *g*, small *f*, capital *F*, and capital *G*, as are not to be found in the MS. text of either *Jupiter* or *Captives*.

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<sup>12</sup> Professor Judson (*op. cit.*, p. 127) attributes the words "Fact: Gibson" to "another hand" than Heywood's, though he is apparently willing to assign the name "Thomas" (to the left of the first speech in the scene), which is clearly in the same handwriting, to the author of the play. In his introduction (p. 11) Professor Judson remarks that the handwriting of the marginal notes—including entrances, exits, stage-paraphernalia, and the names of some of the actors—scattered throughout the MS. is "different from [and later than] the rest" and makes the interesting observation that the writer of the marginal additions, whom he imagines to be some theatrical manager, consistently writes "John" whereas throughout the text the word appears as "Jhon." (It will be noted that in the above quoted stage-direction the name is written "Jhon" and is not in the margin). Dr. Greg (*l. c.*), taking no cognizance of Professor Judson's statement, says: "Certain directions have been added later, but it would seem by the same hand." From what I have seen of



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It has been supposed,<sup>13</sup> from evidence in Henslowe's *Diary*, that Heywood was possibly writing for and acting in Lord Strange's and the Admiral's Men from 1592 onwards, and the foregoing demonstration that he wrote several pages of the manuscript of *Moore* might be regarded as proving the correctness of this supposition. Considering his youth (he was only about twenty years old at this time), it is not improbable that he began his dramatic career as an actor,<sup>14</sup> possibly with the Earl of Worcester's Men. If Heywood really had a hand in the revision of the *Jew of Malta* for its revival at court and at the Cockpit Theatre,<sup>15</sup> as some suppose, it might be regarded as an indication that this play was originally written by Marlowe and Heywood, and that they must at one time have been writing for the same company (Lord Strange's).<sup>16</sup>

Inasmuch as the specific differences in the handwriting of Heywood in 1593, 1612, and 1620 may trouble one who is not accustomed to examining handwriting specimens carefully and scientifically and who may perhaps

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photostats of the manuscript of *The Captives* I must express my entire agreement with Dr. Greg. The additional stage-directions, etc., in Heywood's handwriting would seem to warrant the inference that he was discharging managerial functions in the company (Queen Anne's) for which he had written the play and of which he had become a member after the dissolution of the Earl of Worcester's Men in 1603. Cf. facs. no. 18<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> *English Literary Autographs*, XXII.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. E. K. Chambers, *E. S.*, III, 338; II, 225.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. "The Marlowe Canon," by Tucker Brooke, in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, 1922, vol. 37, pp. 384-6.

<sup>16</sup> The version of the play acted by Strange's Men in the winter of 1591-2 may have been a revision.



think that the presence of such variations is a barrier to certainty in the identification of one person as the penman of papers written at different periods, I shall quote herewith what Mr. Osborn, one of the foremost authorities on the examination of disputed documents, has to say on this subject. In his *Questioned Documents* (pp. 20-22) he says: "Writing of different individuals varies in differing degrees as written at different times and for different purposes . . . Handwriting is individualized from the very beginning of learning to write, but such development becomes much more pronounced as soon as writing is used to any considerable extent for practical purposes. . . . Even after a writing becomes distinctly individualised it will gradually change in numerous particulars, the extent of the change depending upon the amount of writing done, the occupation, habits and environment of the writer. With one who writes but little and whose surroundings continue the same, changes will be but slowly developed, while the writing of one who writes much will often show a gradual but constant evolution in certain particulars."

How strikingly a person's handwriting may change in the course of years and yet not alter its identity is nowhere shown more convincingly than in the facsimiles of the handwriting of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and of the poet Abraham Cowley, reproduced in sections XXVII and XXVIII of *English Literary Autographs*. In the letter written by Oxford to Burghley in 1572 the writing is nearly vertical, the commas are fairly large, the *s*'s and *f*'s lack grace, the writing is crowded, the *i*-dots are almost directly above the *i*'s, the *p*'s are stiffly made, the *st*- and *ct*- digraphs are provided with an



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overhead, horizontal, compound curve ; in the letter written in 1594, on the contrary, the writing is neater, less crowded, more slanting, much more graceful, the *p*'s, *f*'s and long *s*'s are beautifully curved, the commas are very small, the *st*- and *ct*- loops are wanting, the mesial *c* (e.g., in “councell,” l. 8) is provided with the cedilla, the *i*-dot is considerably to the left of the *i*, and double *s* (e.g., in “redressed” l. 6) is written in the modern German way (in 1572 Oxford wrote a long *s* followed by a small one), and so forth. But, notwithstanding these specific differences, enough points of identity remain to make it impossible to doubt that one person wrote both these letters.

Even more striking are the specific differences in the penmanship of the letters written by Cowley in 1649 and in 1663. Very striking differences are also shown in the handwriting of Michael Drayton's receipts written in 1599 and a presentation inscription written in 1627. And I have no doubt that the beautifully written manuscript of Day's *Peregrinatio Scholastica* (MS. Sloane 3150) and *The Parliament of Bees* (MS. Lansd. 725) are in the same handwriting as the poorly written *Return from Parnassus* (Bodl. MS. Rawl. D 398) and the wretchedly scrawled receipt which John Day gave Henslowe on June 4 (?), 1601 (*Dulwich MS. I, art. 35<sup>a</sup>*). And how different Robert Wilson's receipt of June 2, 1598, looks from that of November 8, 1599 !

Notwithstanding the paucity of material at his disposal—a brief postscript in a letter to Philip Henslowe—Sir George Warner was able to identify, correctly, the handwriting of the manuscript play *Believe as You List*



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(*B. M., MS. Egerton 2828*) as that of Philip Massinger. He did this even though his standard of comparison—the aforesaid postscript—contains not a single instance of certain letters, *e.g.*, the twin-stemmed *r*, the old English *g*, the old English *p*, etc., which are almost the rule in the play. The penmanship of the presentation inscription in a copy of *The Duke of Milan* (1623) offers numerous striking divergences from that of the postscript and of the play and yet there can be no doubt that it is a genuine Massinger autograph. In view of these facts and because of the many points of essential identity between these three documents and the manuscript comedy scene found in Beaumont and Fletcher's play *The Faithful Friends* (*Victoria and Albert Museum, D. 25, F. 10*), I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that this scene (IV. 5) was written by Massinger and is in his handwriting. If Massinger's handwriting could undergo such striking modifications in the course of years there surely is no reason why Heywood's should have remained unchanged.



## CHAPTER VIII

### D'S (? SHAKSPERE'S) HAND IN THE PLAY

D's contribution, three folio pages in his own handwriting, has been studied so thoroughly and from so many viewpoints that very little more remains to be said concerning it. Whether he was or was not Shakspeare will probably be settled only on the discovery of a handwriting of some other poet or dramatist of the period which shall correspond with this so closely as to constitute an identification, or on the discovery of an unquestioned specimen of Shakspeare's handwriting, other than a mere signature, written about 1590. On the basis of Shakspeare's extant seven autographs the test of handwriting is at present overwhelmingly against the assumption that he wrote those three pages.<sup>1</sup>

To some scholars an early date for this play and this scene (II. 4, 1-172) is fatal to the Shaksperian attribution; whereas to others a late date (1598-1608) is the fatal obstacle. Professor Thorndike, on the other hand, is of the opinion that if Shakspeare was the much-discussed reviser he could have written these lines at any time

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. my essay, "Shakspeare's Unquestioned Autographs and 'the Addition' to Sir Thomas Moore," in *Studies in Philology*, April 1925, 22: 133-60, or Chapter X of my book, *Problems in Shakspeare's Penmanship*. If these three pages are Shakspeare's he must have acquired not only a new calligraphic alphabet but also new writing habits between 1593 and 1603 (the earliest possible date for his signature in his copy of *Montaigne's Essays*),—which is improbable almost to the degree of impossibility.



during his career, but that, as a matter of fact, this scene was not beyond the powers of any one of several of Shakspeare's contemporaries, *e.g.*, Marlowe.

The essential and specific differences between Shakspeare's acknowledged autographs and the three pages in *Moore* are not of a nature to prove that he could not possibly have been the author and the writer of the revision in the insurrection scene, inasmuch as we know that the handwriting of fluent Elizabethan penmen often offered specific differences in different documents and sometimes even in the same document. As a matter of fact, D's handwriting on folio 9 differs strikingly in certain respects from that on folio 8, but not enough to justify an opinion that these two pages do not emanate from the same hand. These differences have been so well described by Thompson<sup>2</sup> that we cannot do better than to quote him. He says: "there is a marked distinction between the handwriting of the first two pages [ff. 8<sup>a</sup> and 8<sup>b</sup>] of the Addition and that of the third page [fo. 9<sup>a</sup>]; the text of the former is evidently written with speed, the rapid action of the hand being indicated, for example, by the unusual length of the long-shafted descending letters [old English *s*, *f*, *p*] and by a certain dash in the formation of others [old English *h*, *S*, *W*, *E*, *y*]. These signs of speed generally slacken in the course of the second page in which a more deliberate and heavier style supervenes—a change which seems to be coincident with the change in the character of the composition—the change from the noisy tumult of the insurgents to the intervention of More with his persuasive speeches requiring greater thought and

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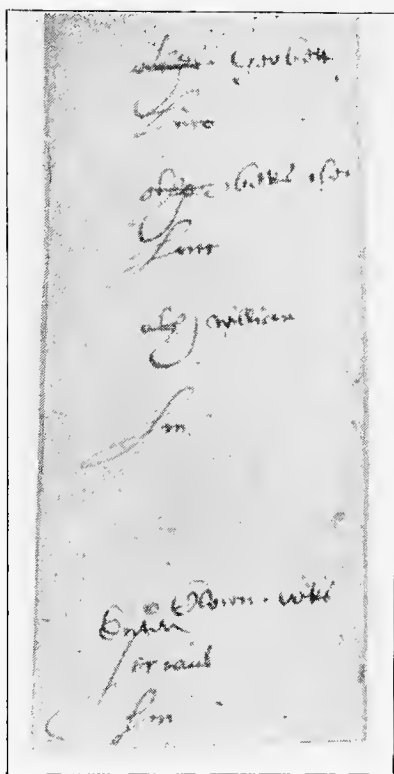
<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare's Hand*, pp. 68-9.



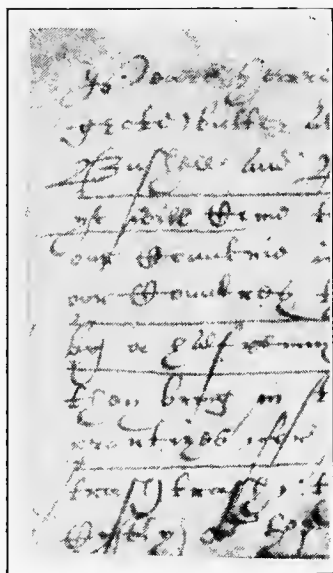
University of Kansas

No. 10—D's (Shakspeare's ?) hand in *Sir Thomas More*. (Part of fol. 9a).





No. 11—Fragment of margin of fol. 8a of Moore.



No. 12—Fragment of margin of fol. 8a of Moore.



No. 13—Fragment of fol. 8a of Moore.



choice of language.<sup>3</sup> The full effect of this change in the style of the composition is made manifest in the yet more deliberate character of the writing of the third page [fol. 9<sup>a</sup>]. Here there is a stronger contrast between the light and [the] heavy strokes than is the case generally in the first two pages, and long-shafted letters give place [to some extent] to others which are stoutly-shafted and even truncated. Of these two styles of writing, it may be assumed that the more deliberate style would represent the characteristic hand of the writer,<sup>4</sup> being the style in which he would set down his more thoughtful scenes. There would be temporary pauses in the course of composition and corresponding suspensions of the pen and consequent loss in the momentum of the writing. In scenes of a lighter nature, on the other hand, he might be expected to compose so easily as to inscribe line after line, with little variety, in the ordinary scrivener's clerical style. ."

The specific differences between folios 8 and 9 can be much more simply and probably accounted for by the assumption that they were written at different times.

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<sup>3</sup> In my judgment folio 8<sup>b</sup>, written almost wholly in splendid verse and in language that is much more vivid and figurative than folio 9<sup>a</sup> (and almost wholly free from corrections and alterations), is written with no less speed and dash than folio 8<sup>a</sup> (almost wholly in prose). On both pages the writing gets more crowded towards the bottom of the page and there the descenders become shorter as the writer becomes increasingly more conscious of his spatial limitations.—S. A. T.

<sup>4</sup> Not so; when one writes slowly and deliberately one is much more likely to revert to the conventional, orthodox patterns which he was taught during childhood; it is only when one writes rapidly that one introduces his own peculiar formations and linkings.—S. A. T.



If this is the hand of Shakspeare it is deserving of the most critical attention, for it may yield us data for the explanation of corruptions in the text of his works and for the emendation of these corruptions, besides acquainting us with his mode of work.

In studying this hand in comparison with Shakspeare's seven genuine autographs,<sup>5</sup> his signatures and the words "By me," we must not forget that at least ten years intervened between the writing of *Moore* and the earliest of Shakspeare's extant signatures (in the British Museum's copy of Montaigne's *Essays*).

If D and Shakspeare were one we have proof here that the master dramatist was a member of Strange's Men as early as the spring of 1593 and that as the company's poet he was occasionally employed in revising other men's work.

Dr. Greg has started the theory (which is fairly generally accepted) that D was a careless contributor who showed no respect for and perhaps had no knowledge of the play on which he was at work. In the words of Sir Edward Thompson: "In a haphazard fashion he distributes speeches and exclamations among the insurgents, and sometimes he merely attaches the word 'other,' instead of the actual name of a character to a speech, leaving it to the reviser to put things straight." That in this view the available evidence has been all amiss interpreted seems to me fairly clear from the following considerations: D employs the designation "other" only at the beginning of the scene, where it clearly does not matter who the speaker

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. my essay, "Reclaiming one of Shakspeare's Signatures," in *Studies in Philology*, July 1925, or Chapter IX of my book, *Problems in Shakspeare's Penmanship*, N. Y., 1927.







Boit Emmon 10 all under an 1898 postbox near of Emmon  
Cattle of Emmon Stationer has one under typist Emmon.  
of 1898 marks of St. Bernard's 1898 post of 1898, on 1898  
22<sup>nd</sup> of October 1898 In witness whereof I have hereunder  
Signed my hand.  
Emmon 1898.

1. The first of these is the fact that the  
 2. second of these is the fact that the  
 3. third of these is the fact that the  
 4. fourth of these is the fact that the  
 5. fifth of these is the fact that the  
 6. sixth of these is the fact that the  
 7. seventh of these is the fact that the  
 8. eighth of these is the fact that the  
 9. ninth of these is the fact that the  
 10. tenth of these is the fact that the



is; the two speeches (ll. 10-11, 30) assigned to Williamson by C (Kyd) could just as well have been given to anyone else in the crowd, for there is nothing distinctive about them; when C and D discussed the revision of the scene the matter of the identity of the individuals constituting the mob may have been left to some extent in the air; C probably decided to omit Sherwin from the scene, forgetting that he is addressed by name in l. 183 of the original ending, after D had completed the work he had been requested to do; the repetition of the designation "all" in the left margin of l. 142 was such a slip of the pen as may be made by anyone; "moor," the speaker's name in the margin of l. 90 ("Lett me sett vp" etc.) is, though Dr. Greg thinks not so, in D's handwriting. (It may be noted here that C almost always writes the name "Moore," whereas D always writes it "Moor"). We must not overlook, in this connection, the fact that the stage-direction: "Enter Lincoln. Doll. Clown. George Betts Williamson others and a Sergaunt at Armes," which should have headed fol. 8<sup>a</sup>, is *near* the bottom of fol. 7<sup>b</sup> and was probably not seen by D. From the fact that C's scene (II 3) on fol. 7<sup>b</sup> terminates a little before the bottom of the page, I think it reasonable to infer that C wrote this scene and this stage-direction *after* D had revised the insurrection scene (II 4). And, considering the matter rightly, designating successive speakers in a crowd as "other," "oth" or "o," is to show them no more disrespect or to be less artistically conscientious than designating the Fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* or the Citizens in *Julius Caesar* as "1," "2," "3" and "4." D was not the hasty, careless and indifferent reviser the commentators have too readily labelled him.



That D was called in to revise the insurrection scene in the hope of saving *Moore* from going into the waste basket, is fairly inferable from the absence of any trace of his presence in any part of the original version of the play. It is difficult to believe that this would have been done by the company for which the play was written and to which the authors of the original version belonged. We are driven, therefore, to the assumption of a theory, similar (in several respects) to that espoused by Mr. Oliphant in 1919 (*op. cit.*, p. 233), to wit: that the play was written for one company and subsequently sold to another. Mr. Oliphant, assuming that the play was written in 1598 or 9, thought that it originally belonged to the Admiral's Men, did not appeal to the business instincts of Henslowe and was sold to the King's (the Lord Chamberlain's) Men, after Shakspeare (D) had altered II 4.<sup>6</sup> In view of the facts now at our disposal, I would say that the play was originally written by Mundy, Heywood and Chettle, either for the Admiral's or for Worcester's Men, and that on its being returned unlicensed (or even before its rejection by Tyllney) it was sold to Strange's Men, whose poets (Kyd, Dekker and D) immediately set about revising it. Their labors were hardly begun, however, when Thomas Kyd was arrested on the grave charge of seditious libel.

The bibliographic arguments advanced by Dr. Greg and Professor Wilson, in *Shakespeare's Hand in Sir Thomas Moore*, to prove these three folios a Shakspeare

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<sup>6</sup> By an unfortunate printer's error—the omission of a line—Mr. Oliphant was made to say that the play was sold *after* Shakspeare had made the revision,—the very opposite of what he had written, as appears from what he says on page 230.



holograph do not seem to me to bring us even a single step nearer a solution of the problem. Professor R. W. Chambers' arguments in his illuminating essay in the same book (pp. 142-187), seems to be completely counter-balanced by Professor L. L. Schücking's keenly analytical essay, "Shakspeare and Sir Thomas More," in the *Review of English Studies* (January 1925, vol. 1, pp. 40-59). In connection with this nice and important problem the student will do well to read what Professor J. Q. Adams has to say concerning it in his book, *A Life of William Shakespeare*, 2d edition, 1925, pp. 497-501.

It may possibly be objected to the theory advanced in the previous paragraph that about this time the Admiral's and Strange's Men were so closely amalgamated that the sale from one of these companies to the other would not be likely, especially in view of the fact that the prevalence of the plague temporarily put most of the theatrical companies out of business. If the play was originally written for Worcester's Men, as is not impossible, part of this objection at once falls to the ground. How closely the Admiral's and Strange's companies were connected we have no means of knowing. They may have travelled and acted together occasionally without having the same repertoire. There is, for example, no record<sup>7</sup> of Strange's Men ever having played either *Tamburlaine* or *The Wounds of Civil War*, printed as Admiral's plays in 1590 and 1594 respectively. And, furthermore, the plague caused only a temporary suspension of theatrical activities, the theatres being reopened as soon as the death-rate from all causes fell below fifty per week.

That D, whoever he was, made his contribution very

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<sup>7</sup> Cf. E. K. Chambers, *E. S.*, II. 120, 139.



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shortly after the play was written and in all probability before May 12, 1593, follows from the following considerations: line 136, which he left unfinished, was completed by Kyd by the insertion of the words, "Tell me but this," and his three pages contain not only a stage-direction, but the catch-names of several of the characters speaking, in Kyd's handwriting.

The application of the so-called "Sievers test" to this puzzling problem can hardly be taken seriously, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Green's verse tests<sup>8</sup> (*op. cit.*, p. 261) put the revised insurrection scene abreast of *II Henry VI*, IV, 2,—exactly where it belongs if Shakspeare wrote it and the Jack Cade scenes.<sup>9</sup> Two other essays on the *Moore* problem deserving of attention are Mr. G. B.

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. "The Apocryphal Sir Thomas More and the Shakespeare Holograph," by Alexander Green, in *The American Jo. of Philology*, July, 1918, pp. 263-6.

<sup>9</sup> In *Palaestra* (No. 148, 1925, pp. 173-210) Professor Sievers, in a supplement to an essay of his on Shakspeare's share in *King Lear*, discusses *Moore* from the point of view of his rhythmic-melodic test and concludes that the Addition (1) was not written by Shakspeare, (2) is not even the work of a poet writing in the heat of composition, (3) but is the work of a scribe trying to transfer to paper somebody else's work which he had committed to memory. That little value can be attached to this conclusion must be evident to one who notes that Professor Sievers' knowledge of Elizabethan English and Elizabethan scribal customs is such as to permit him to attribute to the writer of the Addition the "un-Shaksperian" word "mattery," ("written *mat'ie*" [should be *mâtie*] "and *matie*") for "matter" in ll. 196, 224 and 244. Need I say that "matie" is D's abbreviation for "majesty" and that the word "mattery" as a substantive does not occur in the English language and does not fit the context?



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Harrison's "The Date of Sir Thomas More" (*Review of English Studies*, July, 1925, I: 337-9) and Professor A. W. Pollard's "Verse Tests and the Date of Sir Thomas Moore" (in the same journal, October, 1925, 1:441-3).<sup>10</sup>

Careful comparison of the penmanship of folios 8 and 9 with the handwritings of the dramatists writing between 1550 and 1650, as these are depicted in Dr. Greg's *English Literary Autographs*, leaves no room for doubt that the revised insurrection scene was not written by any one of these. To some, no doubt, this will be an additional argument for crediting Shakspeare with it, even though no specimen of the handwriting of Marlowe, Beaumont, Shirley, Webster, Ford, Greene, Fletcher, and of several others of his contemporaries, has survived. But, of course, with the exception of Marlowe, not one of the men just named can come in question. It is necessary to point out, however, that there were four contemporary dramatists—George Peele, John Marston, Thomas Lodge, Samuel Daniel—who might not impossibly have written the Addition and who, because their handwritings have sur-

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<sup>10</sup> Other discussions of this subject worthy of perusal are the following: *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, by Professor C. F. T. Brooke, Introduction, pp. xlviii-liv; A. H. Tolman's *Falstaff and other Shakespearean Topics*, N. Y., 1925, pp. 26-33; "Shakespearean elisions in 'Sir Thomas Moore,'" by J. D. Wilson, in *London Times L. S.*, Sept. 25, 1924; letter by A. D. Wilde in *Times L. S.*, May 22, 1919; "The Play of 'Sir Thomas Moore,'" by Longworth Chabrun, *Times L. S.*, December 20, 1923; Mr. Alexander Green's scholarly and closely argued essay; and Dr. B. A. P. Van Dam's *The Text of Shakespeare's Hamlet*, 1924, pp. 369-371 (though he is utterly wrong in saying that "it is obvious that the three pages *must* have been written by a scribe").



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vived only in the modern Roman script, cannot be positively ruled out on calligraphic grounds.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> A letter of John Marston's is said to be extant and in private hands, but I have seen no facsimile of it and do not know whether it is written in old English script. Robert Greene died in September 1592, before *Moore* was written. The old English dedication to Lady Arundel prefixed to a manuscript of Lodge's medical treatise, *The Poor Man's Talent*, is probably the work of a professional scrivener and can be readily differentiated from the hands in *Sir Thomas Moore*.—Dr. Greg makes no reference in *English Literary Autographs* to the existence, in 1866, in the hands of "a private collector in London," of a short document (nine lines in Latin, written in the Roman script, and an ornate signature) purporting to be in Robert Greene's hand. It is facsimiled in Professor Nikolai Storojenko's *Life of Robert Greene*, edited by Dr. Grosart.—I am indebted to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach for information that The Huntington Library and Art Gallery has recently acquired what is probably the only extant John Fletcher autograph. It is a small folio sheet bearing the transcription (in an old English hand) of an unpublished poem over the signature of the poet; on the back of the sheet Fletcher wrote the address of the lady to whom he was sending the poem.



## CHAPTER IX

### WHEN WAS THE PLAY REVISED?

An interesting question that has caused considerable discussion is whether the revisions in *Moore* were made before or after the Master of the Revels had ordered the insurrection scene (II 4) and "ye Cause ther off" (*i.e.*, I 1, I 3, II 2, II 3) to be omitted. Mr. Oliphant (*op. cit.*, p. 227), following Greg, was of the opinion that the alterations or "additions" by A, B, D and E,—C being regarded merely as a scribe,—were made before the play was submitted to the Censor, "inasmuch as Shakspeare's [*i.e.*, D's] alteration of the insurrection scene would never have been undertaken after Sir Edmund Tyllney's definite injunction to omit the scene, and because also it must have been recognized that his demands could not possibly be met without the entire ruin of the play."

That this view of the matter, plausible as it sounds, is incorrect, seems to me clear from the following considerations. Had Tyllney read folios 8 and 9 (the pages in D's handwriting) he would without a doubt have demanded the excision of the references to "straingers" in ll. 7, 32, 89, 141 and 161. And it seems improbable that a play containing two versions of several scenes or parts of scenes and speeches (*e.g.*, part of IV 5) which do not fit into the rest of the play would have been submitted for censorship. The fact that the original version of II 2 by Mundy was deleted by Tyllney, whereas the revised version (folio 7<sup>a</sup>) by Heywood bears not the slightest trace of the Censor's minatory pen, though the scene



is rich in objectionable matter, is fairly good proof that this scene was not part of the manuscript originally submitted to Tyllney. In this scene the author speaks of the audacious "strangers" (in ll. 2, 26, 47, 52) although in the earlier pages Tyllney has repeatedly objected to this word or its equivalent and substituted "Lombards" for it; Tyllney is, in fact, flagrantly defied in lines 57 and 75-6 by the nomination of the Dutch and the French<sup>1</sup> as the objectionable aliens whose houses were to be fired in retaliation for their "inforced wrongs." And it seems fair to infer that if the matter (II 2) on folio 7<sup>a</sup> (the revision we have just been considering) was written after the manuscript was submitted to the Censor, the matter (II 3) on the back of this page (*i.e.*, 7<sup>b</sup>, in the handwriting of Kyd), a new and rather good scene which was clearly not the work of Mundy, was also written then. All in all, the indications are that two of the revisers, Kyd and D, and only they, took the Censor's objections seriously and tried, no matter what their feelings in the matter might have been, to rewrite the great scene in the play so diplomatically, *i.e.*, by putting the citizens in the wrong, as to overcome his objections.

When the revised and new matter in the handwritings of Chettle, Heywood, Kyd and Dekker, was added to the play will be discussed later. For the present it is sufficient to say that Dr. Greg is probably right<sup>2</sup> in thinking that "the bulk of additional matter, the Erasmus-

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<sup>1</sup> That this play was written in 1593, the very year in which the Londoners were protesting against the presence in their city of a large number of Frenchmen and Dutchmen, will appear later.

<sup>2</sup> *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*, 1911, p. xv.



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Faukner scene with its adjuncts and the last player-scene, as also the 'More in melancholy' passage (IV. 5, 68ff.), owes its existence "solely to dramatic considerations:" but there can be little doubt that some of these additional 'scenes' were added for the purpose of compensating the audience for some of the matter the cooperative authors knew would have to be deleted in deference to the Censor's orders. Why the revised and emended play was not submitted to Tyllney, why "no attempt [was] made to sew the loose ends into decent continuity" (Greg), and why it was never performed, though it was cast, are interesting questions which we shall answer later on.



## CHAPTER X

### CHETTLE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PLAY

In attempting to determine whether Chettle contributed more to this play than the one page (fo. 6<sup>a</sup>) of revisional but original composition<sup>1</sup> that has come down in his handwriting we have nothing to guide us but a feeling for his style and a recognition of the presence or the absence of linguistic, stylistic, and metrical peculiarities that we associate with his work. His insertion "has not been properly fitted into its context" (Greg), he omits Catesby's only speech (ll. 89-90) in the scene, eliminates the mention of Gough, thus doing away with two actors, and addresses a silent servant as "faithful Steward."

There is enough of his work in this scene to enable us to say that as an artist he is, notwithstanding his youth, in every way superior to Mundy; his verse has dignity, his characters are creatures of flesh and blood, he knows how to move us genuinely to sympathise with his hero, he consistently makes More address his wife and his servant as "thou" and she him as "you," and he uses "you" as both nominative and accusative plural, using "ye" (only once) in the plural and accusatively. His verse is almost painfully regular; he is very sparing in feminine verses (there are only five in seventy-one lines, all being curable by elision), carefully avoids the occurrence of anapests, and employs rhyming couplets quite freely

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Brooke's *Appendix to Sir Thomas More*, pp. 419-20, "Later draft of IV. v, 68 ff." in his *Shakespeare Apocrypha*.



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within and at the end of his speeches (especially in sententious utterances).

That the original version of this part of the scene was by Mundy is clearly evident from the way "thou," "you" and "ye" are used in ll. 85-8 ("deare Gough, thou art my learned Secretarie,/ you Mr Catesbie Steward of my house,/ the rest (like you) haue had fayre time to growe/ . . . But I must tell ye,").

After a careful study of the play I think we are warranted in accepting Dr. Greg's conclusion that it is "unlikely" that "A" (our Chettle) wrote more "than the single passage [ ? page] preserved in his own hand."

From the fact that Chettle's revision was not transcribed by Mundy when he fair-copied the play, that it is not properly fitted into its place, that it omits two characters called-for in the original (Mundy's) version of the scene, and that it is a manifest improvement on Mundy's treatment of this pathetic domestic scene, one is almost compelled to conclude that Chettle's revision was prompted largely by artistic considerations and partly, perhaps, by the necessity of eliminating two actors from the scene who might be needed for other parts in the fifth act. He probably did this while the play was being read by Tyllney, not after it had been returned unallowed. It seems highly improbable that such an impecunious individual as Chettle seems always to have been would have wasted his time in revising a scene in a play after he knew it had been refused a license.

That Chettle's revision of matter originally occurring on folio 19<sup>a</sup> (IV. 5, 59ff.) was wholly voluntary and not prompted by a desire to meet the Censor's wishes is proved by two considerations: (1) there is nothing that



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Tyllney could have objected to in Mundy's original version of the scene; (2) the deletion of folio 19<sup>a</sup> was done by himself, not by Tyllney, and after the manuscript's return, as is fairly evident from the fact that the deletory marks on folio 19<sup>a</sup> (by Mundy) and on folio 6<sup>b</sup> (by Chettle), a kind of triangle through the left edge of the text, are not like Tyllney's deletory marks.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Writers differ among themselves in the matter of deletory marks as they do about other matters.



## CHAPTER XI

### HEYWOOD'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PLAY

Heywood's relationship to this play presents much more important and difficult problems than Chettle's. In his handwriting we have folio 7<sup>a</sup> (a revised version of II 2, the original version of which was probably the work of Mundy—note his use of *thou*, *ye* and *you*!—and which Tyllney<sup>1</sup> very properly and emphatically marked for deletion), folio 16<sup>a</sup> (IV. 1, 310-61), ten lines on folio 16<sup>b</sup> (IV. 1, 362-67 and III. 3, 1-5), as well as some marginal additions, consisting of one or more speeches, on folios 10<sup>a</sup> (II. 4, 209-210), 10<sup>b</sup> (III. 1, 44), 11<sup>a</sup> (III. 1, 74-5 and 86-93), and possibly the almost wholly illegible memorandum ("this must be newe written")<sup>2</sup> on folio 11<sup>b</sup> opposite the beginning of the heavily deleted scene (III. 2) which my tests assign to Mundy. It is noteworthy that Heywood adds not a word to the scenes written by Chettle, Kyd, D, or Dekker, that, in other words, his corrections, suggestions and additions are confined to matter in the autograph of Mundy,—a cir-

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<sup>1</sup> It is at least curious that Dr. Greg tells his readers only that this scene (fol. 5<sup>b</sup>, 11. 412-52) was "marked for omission" and gives no hint of the obvious fact that it was Tyllney who ordered the scene struck out and that the revised version—which omits not a single word of the objectionable matter!—is free from Tyllney's strictures. And yet these facts seem to prove that the revision of this scene was done after the manuscript had been submitted to the Censor.

<sup>2</sup> This might have been written by Tyllney—or even by Dekker.



cumstance tending to show that the revisions and additions might have been made at the suggestion or order of Heywood who, in that case, would have to be regarded as having held an important post in the company for which the play was written. That, notwithstanding this, Heywood was not thoroughly familiar with the play and was working in great haste would seem to be indicated by his making Doll Wilkinson (II. 2, 5) the wife of John Lincoln, by not allowing time for the banquet in III 3, by not connecting this scene smoothly with the scene (IV 1) which follows it, and by addressing a messenger (at III. 3, 19) as "Good gentlemen."

Inasmuch as we cannot think it possible that Heywood would have dared to run counter to Tyllney, we must assume that this revision of II 2 (Mundy's folio 5<sup>b</sup>), as we have it on folio 7<sup>a</sup>, with its (politically) objectionable matter and without Tyllney's warning marks or comments, must have been written while the play was in the Censor's hands.<sup>3</sup> The reason for the revision was in all probability only a desire to increase the comedy element in the play by the addition of speeches for the clown.

He very likely contributed more to the revised version of the play than has come down to us in his autograph: on folio 16<sup>b</sup> we see him struggling with the composition of the opening lines of III 3 which we find copied in their final form by Kyd into their proper context in the margin of folio 14<sup>a</sup>. It is more than merely reasonable, therefore, to regard the whole of III 3 as his com-

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<sup>3</sup> The large heavy X in the left margin of fol. 5<sup>b</sup> corresponds to the similar X in the right margin of 7<sup>a</sup> and is probably the work of Heywood.



106 I have not yet received your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the  
107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000



Actas de: Com. pr. a.

Topical Helas 45.

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I would not with off his - address.

Lehrst. Gallop.

Are all triangles, top & base,

Place here

at 1000 ft. The wind is 10-15 mph. The temperature is 60-65°F. The humidity is 60-70%. The precipitation is 0.1-0.2 inches. The cloud cover is 10-20%. The visibility is 10-15 miles. The air quality is good. The water quality is good. The soil quality is good. The vegetation is good. The wildlife is good. The overall environment is good.

[illegible]

225

Acetylsalicylic acid 36

The 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of Feb and are on 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> of Feb. Feb 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of Feb.



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position even though part of it (ll. 6-22) is not in his handwriting.

On the other hand, it is fairly certain that Heywood was not the author of everything that has survived in his autograph. His revised version of II 2 (folio 7<sup>a</sup>) is original with him only as to ll. 1-16 (two speeches for the Clown and one for George), 20-22, 35-37, 50-51, and 56-59, 72-77, and 84-5,—all speeches for the Clown. As for the rest, he copies Mundy's lines from folio 5<sup>b</sup> almost exactly, not infrequently even his spelling, making insignificant alterations of single words<sup>4</sup> here and there and ruthlessly throwing to the winds Mundy's rather careful punctuation, elisions and stage-directions, but retaining Mundy's characteristic "ye" in all instances but one (l. 77). What proves him not to have been the author of the original version of this scene is not only his assigning two speeches to Lincoln which properly belonged to Williamson (ll. 59-65) and to George (ll. 69-71) and his not knowing that the name of the Clown's brother was George, but that, because of difficulty in reading Mundy's crabbed handwriting, he makes George say "let's stand vppon o<sup>r</sup> swerds" instead of "Lets stand vppon our Guard," though the phrase "to stand upon one's sword" is not idiomatic English and though he must have known that mere citizens did not carry swords.

Heywood, it will be noted, has confined his own activities to writing additional lines (310-67) for VI 1, the whole of the short scene that is now III 3, and a number

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<sup>4</sup> The verbal differences between the two versions may not be due to the copyist; he may have been transcribing from Mundy's original version of the scene instead of from his fair copy.



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of speeches for the Clown in three other scenes, III 1, II 4,<sup>5</sup> and especially in II 2. The point is of interest in view of the fact that there is no Elizabethan dramatist of whom "Clowns" (so named) are more characteristic than of Heywood. It follows, therefore, that Dr. Greg is prejudicing the case against Tom Heywood (*op. cit.* p. xviii) in questioning whether any one but the author of II 2 "would have troubled to make the revision . . . for the sake of the trifling alteration introduced." Heywood evidently did not consider the insertion of speeches for the Clown in scenes in which he otherwise had no existence a trifling alteration. Whether he contributed anything to other scenes it is impossible to say. That his additions (Clown speeches) to Mundy's pages were written prior to the manuscript's trip to Tyllney is not impossible.

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<sup>5</sup> Dr. Greg could make no sense of 1.210 in this scene, Heywood's line for the Clown, which clearly reads—as Oliphant saw even without consulting the manuscript—"eles a deales dobbles honnestlye," i.e., else he (More) deals double honestly.



## CHAPTER XII

### KYD'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PLAY

Kyd's connection with the play presents many more points of interest than could have been hitherto suspected. It may be said that his identification is the key which opens the doors to almost all the problems connected with this much discussed drama. Till now the general assumption has been that inasmuch as the matter in Kyd's (C's) handwriting comprises numerous stage-directions scattered throughout the manuscript, a transcript of a rough draft by B (Heywood), the addition of speakers' names to speeches written by B, the fair transcript of matter written by others (in copying which he often makes errors), as well as evidences of his editorial work on the manuscripts of his associates, he was only a play-house reviser and that none of the matter in his hand was his original composition. This view has apparently received acceptance the more readily because two of the seven extant dramatic "plots," one belonging to Lord Strange's and the other to the Admiral's company, are undoubtedly in the same handwriting as these four and a half pages in *Sir Thomas Moore*.

That Kyd was more than transcriber, editor, and stage-manager, that, in fact, he was also one of the authors of the play, seems to follow from the occurrence of certain errors and corrections in certain lines in II 3 and in III 2. Line 84 of III 2 originally began with Faukner's characteristic oath, "sbloud," but this was struck out and placed, more appropriately, after the exclamation "to



newgate." Line 206 originally read: "When that [my propensity to merry pranks] forsakes me I may haue my grave"; but subsequently "have" was struck out and "hugg" substituted in an interlineation. In line 255 the repetition and deletion of the words "Your L[ordship]" may be regarded as an indication that Faukner, having replied to More's exclamation of surprise ("Why sure this [is] not he") with the words "and Yo<sup>r</sup> Lordship will," intended to begin a new sentence with the words, "Your Lordship." The deletion of "god" before "ever" in l. 260 may also be a correction made by the author in the heat of composition. This is true even to a greater extent of the deletion of the word "twere" in II. 3, 17: instead of writing "Twere good," as he probably intended to do, he struck out the word "twere" and wrote after it "Tis time." Three lines below this he changes "broaken open" to "broake open" for metrical and euphonic considerations. But the clearest proof that Kyd was the author of at least a part of this scene is furnished by his treatment of the following lines:

"W<sup>ch</sup> hangs vppon ther lives. for sillie men  
plodd on they know not [w]how, [like a] foo[t]les  
[penn]  
that ending showes not any sentene writt"

(III. 2, 45-7)—

a passage which he finally and sensibly marks for total omission. It follows then, it seems to me, that Kyd was the author of the whole of II 3, occupying all of folio 7<sup>b</sup> of the manuscript (*i.e.*, the back of the sheet containing Heywood's revision of II 2), and of at least part of the revised version of Mundy's original III 2. From the fact that he twice refers to "Lombards" instead of "strangers" in II 3 it may be inferred that in his writing of this scene,



in all probability a substitute for a scene of Mundy's now lost, he was taking cognizance of Tyllney's injunction and that he himself deleted the first eight lines for fear of incurring the Censor's disapproval. It will be interesting to remember this in connection with his subsequent history.

From the fact that in the scene written by himself Kyd was evidently taking cognizance of the Censor's objections, it may be inferred that he wrote his scene (II 3)—a scene of which there is no earlier version—after the manuscript had been returned unlicensed. This is to some extent corroborated by the fact that this product of his invention was written on the back of Heywood's new version of II 2 (fo. 7<sup>a</sup>), written after the play had been submitted to the Censor, and that he tried (unsuccessfully) to link these two scenes together (by the words "Manett Clowne" in the right margin of fo. 7<sup>a</sup>—*cf.* facs. no. 17). But the strongest evidence of his participation in the revision of the play subsequent to its being submitted to Tyllney is to be found in the fact that he is intimately associated with D in II. 4. This famous scene could have been written either before or after Tyllney so menacingly ordered the omission of the original version. Not only does Kyd supply the names of the speakers on folios 8<sup>a</sup> and 9<sup>a</sup> and add stage-directions, but he even completes (after a fashion) a half-line which D had apparently given up temporarily.<sup>1</sup> It is quite clear that he really thought the play could be amended so as to secure the Censor's approval, and that he was preparing it for production by Strange's Men.

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<sup>1</sup> These things are nicely shown in our facsimiles nos. 16 and 17. Note especially the word "willian" and the *s* and *r* in the word "seriant" (= sergeant), written by C (Kyd).



## CHAPTER XIII

### THOMAS DEKKER'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE PLAY

The extent of the contribution to this play made by Thomas Dekker, "the most lovable of all our old dramatists" (Oliphant), is less easily ascertainable than that of some of his associates. That he penned the lower half of folio 13<sup>b</sup> (III. 2, 283-322), left vacant by Kyd, is certain; that he was the author of these supplemental lines is reasonably inferable from two lines, 304 and 314. In the former, the dramatist seems originally to have intended Morris (who is given to calling Faulkner names) to say: "why doest thou follow, you Coxcomb?" but he decided to change this—possibly to indicate that the kindly master is moved by his follower's tears—crossed out the word "yo" and wrote "mee" after it ("why doest thou follow mee;"). In the latter, l. 314, he struck out the word "foole," applied to Faulkner by his master, and substituted "Asse" in an interlineation. The deletion of ll. 311-13 ("Morr: yo<sup>u</sup> Coxcomb."—"Falk: nay yo<sup>u</sup> ha poacht mee, yo<sup>u</sup> ha given mee a hayre, its here here.") seems unequivocally to point to the same conclusion, for the deleting strokes were evidently made *currente calamo*, being made with the same pen, the same ink and the same degree of pen pressure as the rest of the writing. The artist's interest in his creation is witnessed by Dekker's erasing the "exit" at the end of l. 282 (the end of the scene) and adding some forty lines of unnecessary, but characteristic, and fairly amusing dialogue between master and servant. Cf. facs. no. 19.



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Dekker's share in the play (in III 2) consisted in all probability in the revision of as much of Mundy's work as related to the Faulkner incident. From the spirit with which he enters into this and the skill with which he depicts the scene, we may infer his dissatisfaction with Mundy's treatment of the episode. That he was the author also of that part of the Faulkner scene which is in Kyd's handwriting (on folios 12<sup>a</sup>, 12<sup>b</sup>, 13<sup>b</sup>) is inferable from several rather interesting facts: at l. 257 he very appropriately inserts the words "I am *ipse*;"<sup>1</sup> an analysis of the petty oaths occurring throughout the play shows that only in the Faulkner passages, in the part that is in Kyd's autograph as well as in Dekker's hand, do we find oaths beginning with *s*<sup>2</sup> ("sbloud," in ll. 74, 84, and 303; "shart" in l. 276); there are certain similarities of phrase in the two parts of the MS. dealing with the Faulkner incident which point to identity of authorship, viz: "if I notch not that rogue," (l. 278, Kyd's hand), "a notcht mee thus" (l. 287, Dekker's hand), "I am a polecat" (l. 278, Kyd's hand), "Ile goe hang my Selfe out for the poll head" (l. 293, Dekker's hand), "makes me looke thus like a Brownist" (l. 280, Kyd's hand), "make a Sarcen of Iack" (l. 293); and Morris addresses Faulkner as "thou,"

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Greg failed to notice that the words "I am *ipse*" are in Dekker's handwriting.

<sup>2</sup> In other parts of the play the oaths are *yfaith, faith, afore God, before God, marrie, body a me, by the Lord, by the Mass, good God, Gods me, bir Lady, and a Gods name*. It is interesting and undoubtedly of significance in this connection to note that oaths beginning with *'s* (e.g., 'sblood, 'sfoot, 'snails, etc.) are employed almost exclusively in Dekker's *The Honest Whore*, Part I (1599).



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whereas Faulkner addresses Morris as "you," throughout the scene.

Dekker, like Kyd and D, had nothing to do with the original composition of the play. His influence can be felt only in the revised III 2, a scene originally written by Mundy. That his contribution to the play was made for *Strange's Men* and after Tyllney's disapproval of the work of Mundy, Heywood and Chettle, is fairly indicated by two facts: (1) his Faulkner scene is transcribed by Kyd, whom I have shown to have been the prompter and adapter for *Strange's Men*; (2) he writes and composes additional, though unnecessary, dialogue for a terminated scene, deleting the stage-direction: "exit" (III. 2, 282), on the lower half of a page (folio 13<sup>b</sup>) whose upper half is occupied by a part of the same scene in the handwriting of Kyd. (*Cf.* facs. no. 19.)

So little of Dekker's early life is known that we cannot say to what, if any, company he belonged in the early nineties. It is not impossible that he may have been a free-lance at this time and was invited by Kyd or the manager of the company to help in the revision of the rejected play because of his growing reputation as a poet and a dramatist. We know that in 1598, when he was only about twenty-six years of age, Meres generously characterized him as one of "our best for Tragedie."







we have  
cause the offe  
against the  
more all the  
at a report of  
off his good  
ken being  
up a hunting  
want only  
to do other  
at your own  
permitted  
Edmund Tyllney  
Wil.  
Shad.

No. 20—Sir Edmund Tyllney's injunction  
(Slightly enlarged).



## CHAPTER XIV

### WHEN THE PLAY WAS WRITTEN

If, then, some four and a half pages of *Sir Thomas Moore* are in Thomas Kyd's handwriting, the play must have been written before the latter part of 1594, the date of Kyd's death. But it is inconceivable that after May 12, 1593, Kyd would have had a share in the writing of a play which so obviously dealt with the hostility between the Londoners and the strangers (especially the Flemish and French aliens!) and which the city authorities and the Privy Council would have been certain to interpret as incitement to outrages and rebellion, the very thing for which he had been arrested on May 12, 1593, and for which he suffered torture. The play must therefore have been written, fair-copied, disapproved, and revised before that eventful May 12. And when we consider that the quarrel between the English and the foreigners had been so acute as to trouble the Queen's councillors for several months before this, it is eminently reasonable to conclude that the play was written within two or three months of May 12, 1593, and that it was written at some one's order or suggestion for the express purpose of inciting the London citizens to rise against the aliens, mainly natives of the Low Countries and France, whose presence was overcrowding the city (the erection of new buildings had been prohibited by the Queen some years before), causing rents and the prices of commodities to soar beyond the reach of the much exploited poor, diminishing the amount



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of work available for Englishmen, and greatly increasing the number of native beggars.<sup>1</sup>

How intense the feeling against the resident aliens was is revealed in the minutes of the Privy Council. From *The Acts of the Privy Council of England* (1901, vol. 24) we learn that "a lewde and vyle ticket or placarde [having been set up in the early part of April 1593] upon some post in London purportinge some determynacion and intencion the apprentyes should have to attempt some vyolence on the strangers," the Lord Mayor was requested to have the person guilty of having written the libel apprehended and tortured if he did not disclose his meaning and purpose and the identity of his accomplices (p. 187). It is evident that the Mayor made no arrest, for on April 22 the "Queen's Majestie" requested Mr. Doctor Caesar, Sir Henry Killigrew, Sir Thomas Wilkes, Mr. William Waad, and Mr. Thomas Phillippes "to examine by secrete meanes who maie be authors for the saide [seditious] libelles" (pp. 200-01). On May 5, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, the "Rhime"

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<sup>1</sup> On March 12, 1593, Robert Cecil, in the House of Commons, moved "for some course of necessary relief to be had and devised, for the great number of poor people pressing everywhere in the streets to beg." In I. 1 of the play *Lincoln* prepares a "bill" to "the worshipfull Lords and maisters of this Cittie," calling their attention to "the greate importable hurts, losses and hinderances, whereof proceedeth extreame pouertie to all the Kings subiects, that inhabite this Cittie . . . ffor so it is that Aliens and straungers eate the bread from the fatherlesse children and take the liuing from all the Artificers . . . whereby pouertie is so much encreased, that euery man bewayleth the miserie of other, for craftsmen be brought to beggerie, and Merchants to neediness."



we have already quoted (see page 37) was "set up against the wall of the Dutch Churchyard." At the same time a prose "libel" ordered "the beastly Brutes, the Belgians, or rather Drunken Drones, and faint-hearted Flemings" and the "fraudulent" Frenchmen "to depart out of the Realm of England," between this and the 9th of July next." On May 11 the Council ordered (p. 222) a Commission consisting of Sir R. Martin, Anthony Ashley, Alderman Buckle, and others, to use "extraordinary pains" to apprehend the malefactors.<sup>2</sup>

From another source (*MSS. Car. D. Hallifax*) we learn that "several young men were taken up, and examined about the Confederacy to rise, and drive out the Strangers. —Some of these Rioters were put into the Stocks, carted and whipt; for a Terror to other Apprentices and Servants" (as quoted by John Strype).

That the situation was generally recognized to be grave is evident, furthermore, from the fact that on March 20, 1593, there was introduced into the House of Commons a "Bill against Alien Strangers selling by way of Retail any Foreign Commodities" which was heatedly discussed during several sessions (March 21, March 23 and 24) by Mr. Francis Moore, Mr. Proud, Mr. Hill, Sir John Wolley, Mr. Fuller, Sir Edward Dymock, Mr. Dalton, Mr. Finch, Sergeant Drew, Mr. Palmer, Sir Walter

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<sup>2</sup> The Council's minutes for August 26 (p. 488) refer to the anti-alien outburst again when they order the release from the Fleet of one Peter Cole, who had been committed by "the Court of the Star Chamber for certain lewd speeches uttered in the time of the stur betwixt the prentices of London and the straingers."



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Raleigh and Sir Robert Cecil.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Fuller, speaking against the aliens, pointed out that "the exclamations of the City are exceeding pitiful and great against these strangers," whereas Mr. Finch, speaking for the strangers, pleaded the scriptural admonition: "Let us not grieve the soul of the stranger," and ended his address with the words which D (Shakspeare?) may have had in mind when writing his great speech for More: "They are strangers now, we may be strangers hereafter. So let us do as we would be done unto."

Sir Walter Raleigh said: "Whereas it is presented, That for Strangers it is against Charity, against Honour, against Profit to *expel them*; in my opinion it is no matter of Charity to relieve them . . . I see no reason that so much respect should be given unto them. And so to conclude, in the whole cause I see no matter of Honour, no matter of Charity, no Profit in relieving them."

It is not to be wondered at that at such a time as this, when Englishmen's bloods were stirring and when the prevalence of the plague augmented the sufferings of the disaffected citizenry, Sir Edmund Tyllney objected to a play which contained such lines as these: "It is hard when Englishmens pacience must be thus ietted on by straungers and they not dare to reuendge their owne wrongs" (I. i, 32-4); "lets beate them downe, and beare no more of these abuses" (35-6); "if mens milkie harts dare not strike a straunger, yet women will beate them downe"

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. *A Compleat Journal of the Notes, Speeches and Debates, both of the House of Lords and House of Commons throughout the whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, Collected by.. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, London, 1693, pp. 504-9.



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(72-3); "I am ashamed that free-borne Englishmen, hauing beatten straungers within their owne homes should thus be brau'de and abusde by them at home" (92-6); "Aliens and straungers eate the bread from the fatherlesse children, and take the liuing from all the Artificers, and the entercourse from all Merchants wherby pouertie is so much encreased" (143-7);

"by perswasion I enforc'de the wrongs,  
and vrgde the greefe of the displeased cittie:  
He [*i.e.*, Bard] answered me and with a sollemme  
oathe  
that if he had the Maior of Londons wife,  
he would keep her in despight of any Englishe."  
(I. 3, 33-7);

"But if the Englishe blood be once but vp,  
as I perceiue theire harts alreadie full,  
I feare me much, before their spleenes be coolde,  
some of these saucie Aliens for their pride,  
will pay for't soundly," (I. 3, 57-61);

"Come gallant bloods, you, whose free soules doo  
scorne  
to beare th' enforced wrongs of Aliens.  
Add rage to resolution, fire the houses  
of these audacious straungers" (II. 2, 23-6);

"Shall these [outlandishe fugetiues] enjoy more  
priueledge then we  
in our owne countrie? lets then become their slaues.  
Since iustice keeps not them in greater awe  
weele be our selves rough ministers at lawe" (31-4);



*"The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore"*

and many other passages expressing the discontent of the citizens<sup>4</sup> and their determination to put an end to the "vilde enormities" of the aliens and their own "extreame pouertie," at any cost.

It must be noted that a lofty patriotic strain runs throughout the original version of the play, the version damned by Tyllney, and that it is only in the alleged Shaksperian portion (the revised insurrection scene, II. 4) that the outraged citizens, even Lincoln, are made to talk and act like fools. Even brave John Lincoln makes no reference to the insults they have to submit to or to their just grievances and can charge the foreigners only with being great eaters and with having brought into the country strange roots, parsnyp and pumpions, which 'breed sore eyes and infect the city with the palsey.'<sup>5</sup> If Shakspeare wrote that, he must have done so only because he thought that in no other way could the play be saved.

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<sup>4</sup> It is not insignificant in this connection that in the play (I.3) the English nobility, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Surrey (the distinguished poet), Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir Roger Cholmeley, are in sympathy with the "wronged citizens" and denounce the "high-creasted insolence" of the "hott ffrenchemen" and the other aliens "that fatned with the traf-ficque of our country."

<sup>5</sup> In these lines (II. 4, 13-24) we seem to have a very clear reference to the plague from which London was suffering at the time this play was being written. From Thomas Lodge's *A Treatise of the Plague* (1603) we know that prominent among the distressing symptoms of this dread disease were "feebleness and weakness of the regitive vertue of the body" (*i.e.*, palsy, tremor) and "Ophthalimes or inflammation of the tunicle of the eies."



*"The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore"*

There is not a particle of evidence extant to show that the play was ever put on the stage.<sup>6</sup> From the fact that the revised portions bear no trace of Tyllney's pen, not even opposite highly objectionable utterances, it is reasonably certain that the revised manuscript was not re-submitted to him, even though the producer had gone so far as to plan the casting of the play. When we ask ourselves what the reason was for the play's not being completed, not being re-submitted to the Master of the Revels and its not being acted, the obvious answer is: Thomas Kyd's arrest on a charge of being involved in the publication of seditious libels which threatened to involve the capital in rebellion and the nation in international difficulties. With that the play was doomed.

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<sup>6</sup> Professor Felix E. Schelling was clearly in error (*The English Chronicle Play*, 1902, p. 211) when he asserted that "the play was certainly performed by the Chamberlain's company." See also p. 20.



APPENDIX A  
THOMAS KYD'S HERETICAL TREATISE  
(*Harl. MS. 6848, ff. 187-9*)

[*fol. 189*] Albeit in this vehemēt & vnthought on perturbation of mind reuerend father w[hen] Labor is odious writing difficult & hard comentatiō vnpleazant & grieuos vnto me yet in the defence of my caus being required to write for the reuerence I ow to your Lordshipp Aboue other I haue purposed brefely & compendiosly to comīt in writing what I think touching Tharticles.

W<sup>ch</sup> mine opinion by the comunication before had w<sup>t</sup> your Lordshipp might haue bin euident inough & sufficiently known without writing for first at the beginning when yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshipp admitted me to disputation before many witnesses And then after to priuate & familier talk I did plainly say all that then came into my mind verilie I haue not dissembled my opinion which I got not or borrowed owt of Sarcerius, Conradus, Pellican, & such garbages or rather sinks or gutters but owt of the sacred fountain.

To w<sup>ch</sup> sacred fountain iust & right faith ought to cleaue & lean in all controuersies touching religion chefly in this point w<sup>ch</sup> semeth to be the pillar & stay of our religion. Wher it is called in question concerning the inuocation of saincts or expiation of sowles A man may err without great danger in this point being the ground & foundation of owr faith we may not err without damage to owr religion. I call that true religion which instructeth mans minde w<sup>t</sup> right faith & worthy opinion of God And I call that right faith which doth credit & beleue that of God w<sup>ch</sup> the scriptures do testifie not in a few places & the same depraued & detort to wrong sense B[ut] . . . ye



## Appendix A

[*fol. 188*] [as ye] will say throughly w<sup>t</sup> one & the same perpetuall tenor & consent.

What the Scriptures do witness of God it is clere & manifest innogh for first Paul to the Romains declareth that he is euerlasting And to Timothi i<sup>m</sup>mortall & inuisible to the Thessalonians liuing & true James teacheth also that he is inco<sup>m</sup>mutable which things in the old law & Prophets likewise are thought infixed inculcate so often that they cannot escape the Reader. And yf we think the epithetons not vainly put but truly & profitably adiect And that they agree to God And that [they] we must not beleue him to be God to whom the same agree not we therfor call God which onlie is worthie this name & appellation, Euerlasting, Inuisible, Inco<sup>m</sup>mutable Incomprehensible I<sup>m</sup>mortal &c.

What the Scriptures do witness of God it is clere & manifest inough & so forth as is aboue rehearced.

And if Jhesus Christ euen he which was borne of Marie was God so shall he be a visible God comprehensible & mortall which is not compted God w<sup>t</sup> me quoth great Athanasius of Allexandriae &.

For yf we be not able to comprehend nor the Angels nor our own sowles which ar things creat To wrongfully then & absurdly we mak the creator of them comprehensible espetiallie contrary to so manifest testimonies of the Scriptures & cet.

[*fol. 187*] . . . for how may it be thought tru religion which vniteth in one subject contraries as uisibilitie & inuisibilitie mortallitie & imortallitie & cet.

It is lawfull by many wayes to se the infirmitie of Jhesus Christ whom Paul in the last chapter to the Cor-



inthiās of the second Epistle denieth not to be crucified through infirmitie. And the whole course & consent of the Euangelicall history doth make him subject to the passions of man as hunger thirst wearines & fear. To the same end ar swete anxietie continuall praier the consolation of the Angell again spitting whipping rebukes or checks His corps wrapt in the linnen cloth vnburied And to beleue forsooth that this nature subiect to theis infirmities & passions is God or any part of the diuine essence what is it other but to make God mightie & of power of thone part weak & impotent of thother part which thing to think it wer madness & follie To persuade others impieties.

The Nature diuine is single communicable to no creature comprehensible of no creat vnderstanding explicable w<sup>t</sup> no speche. But as Paul saith in the first of the Romains by the uisible structure of the world we deprehend the inuisible [of] power sapience & goodnes of God wher it is by the Scriptures euident That ther is one God. As in the sixt of Deut: yo<sup>r</sup> God is one God yet the vocable is stransferred to other & therfore it is written in the eightenth Psalme of Daud God stood in the sinagog of Gods which place Christ in the tenth of John declareth to agree to the Prophetts whiles he studieth to auoid the crime of Blasphemie for that the calling of God Father had signified himselfe to be the Sonn of God. And Paul the first to the Corinthians 8 Chapter And though ther be which are called Gods whether in heauen or in earth as there be Gods many & Lords many yet vnto me ther is but one God which is the father of whom ar all things & we in him & saith Paul ther be to whom their bellie is God But to many Idols according to that saying all



*"The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore"*

the Gods of [the] Idols And Paul in the second to the Corinthians fourth Cap: doth call Satan the God of this world. To men it is applied but seldom yet sometime it is And then we vnderstand it as a name of mean power & not of the euerlasting power. Exodus two & twentie Thow shalt not detract the Gods And Moises be he a God to Pharao Again Paul to the Romans Ninth calleth Christ God blessed foreuer, And in the Gospell of John Chap: twentie Thomas Didimus doth acknowledge him God thorough the feling of the wound many times that I remember I do not finde . . .



## APPENDIX B

KYD'S MEMORANDUM OF ACCUSATIONS AGAINST MARLOWE, UNSIGNED AND UNDATED, BUT WRITTEN AFTER MARLOWE'S DEATH. (*B.M. Harl. MS. 6848, fo. 154.*)<sup>1</sup>

Pleaseth it yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup>able L<sup>p</sup><sup>2</sup> toching marlowes monstrous  
[sic] opinions as J/ cannot but w<sup>th</sup> an agreved conscience  
think on him or them so can J but *particulariz*/ fewe in  
the respect of them that kept him greater company,<sup>3</sup>  
Howbeit in/ discharg of dutie both towrds god yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup><sup>4</sup>  
& the world thus much haue J thought/ good breiflie to  
discover in all humblenes/  
ffirst it was his custom when J knewe him first & as J  
heare saie he/ contynewd it in table talk or otherwise to  
iest at the devine scriptures/ gybe at praie<sup>rs</sup>, & stryve in  
argum<sup>t</sup> to frustrate & confute what hath byn/ spoke or  
wrytt by prophets & such holie men/

- 1 He wold report St John to be o<sup>r</sup> savio<sup>r</sup> Christes  
Alexis<sup>5</sup> J cover it w<sup>th</sup> reverence/ and trembling  
that is that Christ did loue him w<sup>th</sup> an extraordin-  
ary<sup>6</sup> loue/

---

<sup>1</sup> This was in all probability addressed to Sir John Puckering.

<sup>2</sup> *Lordship*. <sup>3</sup> The Privy Council evidently wanted information concerning Marlowe's associates, the men of quality referred to in the final paragraph. These men of quality were Thomas Harriott, Matthew Roydon, Walter Warner, George Chapman, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Oxford, George Carey, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others.

<sup>4</sup> *Lordship*, i.e., the Privy Council.

<sup>5</sup> A beautiful youth beloved by the shepherd Corydon in Vergil's 2d Eclogue.

<sup>6</sup> i.e., unnatural.



Enter orleamce mmsing' to him & on  
 Mauritius Bonifac' m' singer & Pau  
 Enter Bonifac' w<sup>th</sup> serving men  
~~Enter Bonifac' w<sup>th</sup> serving men~~  
 wine preser  
 namitius blec  
 pri, st  
 he like a Pilgrim  
 he with Passere  
 his form at one  
 myaine namitius / En  
 set Astram & Dwin  
 between Newes and  
 ram & Dwin & Man  
 t f ble brought in  
 the cam and the

No. 21—Part of the plot of a lost play—*Fortune's Tennis* (?)

*B. M. Add. MS. 10449/5.*







Appendix B

- 2 That for me to wryte a poem of St *paulis* conversion  
as J was determined/ he said wold be as if J  
shold go wryte a book of fast & loose, esteming/  
*paul a* Jugler./
3. That the prodigall Childes portion was but fower  
nobles,<sup>7</sup> he held his/ purse so neere the bottom in  
all pictures, and that it either was a iest/ or els  
fowr nobles then was thought a great patrimony  
not thinking it a/ *parable*/
- 4 That things esteemed to be donn by devine power  
might haue aswell been don/ by observation of  
men all w<sup>ch</sup> he wold so sodenlie take slight occasion  
to/ slyp out<sup>8</sup> as<sup>9</sup> J & many others in regard of<sup>10</sup>  
his other rashnes in attempting/ soden pryvie<sup>11</sup> in-  
iuries to men did ouerslypp though often reprehend  
him for it/ & for which god is my witnes aswell  
by my lordes comaundm<sup>t</sup> as in hatred/ of his life  
& thoughts J left & did refraine his companie/  
He wold *perswade* w<sup>th</sup> men of quallitie to goe vnto  
the k<sup>12</sup> of Scotts whether<sup>13</sup>/ J heare *Royden* is  
gon and where if he<sup>14</sup> had liud he told me when J/  
sawe him last he meant to be/

---

<sup>7</sup> A noble was a gold coin worth 6s 8d.

<sup>8</sup> *blurt out*    <sup>9</sup> *that*    <sup>10</sup> *in regard of*=knowing    <sup>11</sup> *secret*  
<sup>12</sup> *king*    <sup>13</sup> *whither*    <sup>14</sup> *Marlowe*



## APPENDIX C

### THOMAS KYD'S LETTER TO SIR JOHN PUCKERING

(*Harl. MS.* 6849, ff. 218-19.)

[FOL. 218] At my last being w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>. to entreate some speaches from yo<sup>u</sup> in my favor/ to my Lorde, whoe (though I thinke, he rest not doubtfull of myne innocence) hath yet/ in his discreeter judgm<sup>t</sup> feared to offende in his reteyning me, w<sup>th</sup>out yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> former pryvitie; So is it nowe R. ho: that the denyall of that favo<sup>r</sup> (to my/ thought resonable) hath mov'de me to coniecture some suspicion, that yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> holds me/ in, concerning *Atheisme*, a deadlie thing w<sup>ch</sup> I was vnderdeserved chargd w<sup>th</sup>all, &/ therfore have I thought<sup>t</sup> it requisite, aswell in duetie to yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>, & the lawes, as/ also in the feare of god, & freedom of my conscience, therein to satisfie the/ world and yo<sup>u</sup>:

The first and most (thoughe insufficient) surmize that euer [w]as<sup>1</sup> therein/ might be raisde of me, grewe thus. When I was first suspected for that/ libell that concern'd the state, amongst those waste and idle papers (w<sup>ch</sup> I carde/ not for) & w<sup>ch</sup> vnaskt I did deliuer vp, were founde some fragments of a disputation, toching that opinion, affirmd by Marlowe to be his, and shuffled/ w<sup>th</sup> some of myne (vnknown to me) by some occasion of o<sup>r</sup> wrytinge in one/ chamber twoe yeares synce/

My first acquaintance w<sup>th</sup> this Marlowe, rose vpon his bearing name to/ serve my Lo: although his L<sup>p</sup> never

---

<sup>1</sup> A word partly illegible, probably "was."



### Appendix C

knewe his service, but in writing for/ his plaies, ffor never cold my L. endure his name, or sight, when he had heard/ of his conditions, nor wold indeed the forme of devyne praiers vsed duellie in his/ L<sup>ps</sup> house, haue quadred w<sup>th</sup> such reprobates.

That I shold loue or be familer frend, w<sup>th</sup> one so irreligious, were verie rare,/ when *Tullie* saith *Digni sunt amicitia quib<sup>s</sup> in ipsis inest causa cur diligantur*/ w<sup>ch</sup> neither was in him, for p[er]son, quallities, or honestie, besides he was/ intemp[er]ate & of a cruel hart, the verie contraries to w<sup>ch</sup>, my greatest enemies/ will saie by me.

It is not to be nombred amongst the best conditions of men, to taxe or to/ opbraide the deade *Quia mortui non mordent*, But thus muche haue I (w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup> favo<sup>r</sup>) dared in the greatest cause, w<sup>ch</sup> is to cleere my self of being/ thought an *Atheist*, which some will sweare he was.

ffor more assurance that I was not of that vile opinion, Lett it but/ please yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> to enquire of such as he conversd w<sup>th</sup>all, that is (as I am/ geuen to vnderstand) w<sup>th</sup> *Harriot, Warner, Royden* and some stationers/ in *Paules churchyard*, whom I in no sort can accuse nor will excuse/ by reson of his companie, of whose consent if I had been, no question but/ I also shold haue been of their consort, for *ex minimo vestigio artifex agnoscit/ artificem*.

Of my religion & life I haue alredie geuen some instance to the late commission<sup>rs</sup>/ & of my reverend meaning to the state, although p[er]haps my paines and—/ vndeserved tortures felt by some, wold haue ingendred more impatience/ when lesse by farr hath dryven so manye *imo extra caulas* w<sup>ch</sup> it shall—/ never do w<sup>th</sup> me.



*"The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore"*

But whatsoeuer I haue felt R. ho: this is my request  
not for reward/ but in regard of my trewe innocence that  
it wold please yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup> so t[o] [. . . . .]<sup>1</sup> the same/ & me,  
as I maie still reteyne the favo<sup>rs</sup> of my Lord, whom I haue  
servd almost/ theis vj yeres now, in credit vntill now,  
& now am vtterlie vndon w<sup>thout</sup>/ herein be somewhat  
donn for my recoverie, ffor I do knowe his L<sup>p</sup> holdes/  
yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> & the state in that dewe reverence, as he wold  
no waie move the/ leste suspicion of his loves and cares  
both towards hir sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup>/ and the lawes  
wherof when tyme shall serve I shall geue greater instance  
w<sup>ch</sup>/ I haue observd.

As for the libel laide vnto my chardg I am resolued w<sup>th</sup>  
receyving of ye sacram<sup>t</sup>/ to satisfie yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup> & the world  
that I was neither agent nor consenting thervnto/ [FOL.  
218B] Howbeit if some outcast *Ismael* for want or of his  
owne dispose to lewdnes, haue/ w<sup>th</sup> pretext of duetie or  
religion, or to reduce himself to that he was not borne/  
vnto by enie waie incensd yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup> to suspect me, I shall  
besech in all humillitie/ & in the feare of god that it will  
please yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup> but to censure me as I shall/ prove my self,  
and to repute them as they ar in deed *Cum totius  
iniustitiae/ nulla capitalior sit quam eoru, qui tum cum  
maximé fallunt id agunt vt viri/ boni esse videant<sup>r</sup>* ffor  
doubtles even then yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup> shal be sure to breake/ [. . . .]<sup>2</sup>  
their lewde designes and see into the truthe, when but  
their lyues that/ herein haue accused me shalbe examined  
& rypped vp effectually, soe/ maie I chaunce w<sup>th</sup> *paul* to  
liue & shake the vyper of my hand into the/ fier for w<sup>ch</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> An illegible word (probably "of") in the MS.

<sup>2</sup> A word lost by the action of damp.



### *Appendix C*

the ignorant suspect me guiltie of the former shipwrack./  
And thus (for nowe I feare me I growe teadious) assuring  
yo<sup>r</sup> good L<sup>ps</sup>/ that if I knewe eny whom I cold iustlie  
accuse of that damnable offence to/ the awefull Ma<sup>tie</sup> of  
god or of that other mutinous sedition towrd the state/  
I wold as willinglie reveale them as I wold request yo<sup>r</sup>  
L<sup>ps</sup> better thoughtes of/ me that neuer haue offended yo<sup>u</sup>  
Yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>ps</sup> most humble in all duties

Th. Kydde.



APPENDIX D  
TRANSCRIPTS OF FACSIMILES NOS. 1, 7, 10, 15, 16, 17, 18 AND 19  
FACS. NO. 1

his pursse.

all one payne to dye a lingering death, and to liue in the continuall mill of a lawe = suite. But I can tell thee, my neck is so short, that if thou shouldst behead an hundred noblemen like my selfe, thou wouldest nere get credit by it. Therefore (looke ye Sir) doo it handsomely, or of<sup>1</sup> my woord thou shalt neuer deale with me heerafter.

Ile take an order for that<sup>2</sup> my Lord.

Hang. One thing more, take heed thou cutst not off my beard: Oh, I forgot, execution Moore. past vppon that last night, and the bodie of it lies buried in the Tower.

[Come, lets to the block.]<sup>3</sup>

My Lord, I pray ye put off your doublet.]

[Hang. No my good freend, I haue a great colde alreadie, and I would be lothe to take]

[Moore. more, point me meeete the block, for I was nere<sup>4</sup> heere before]

To the Easte side my Lord.]

[Hang.]

[Moore. Then to the Easte,]

[we goe to sighe, that ore, to sleep in rest.]

[No eye salute my trunk with a sad teare,]

[Our birth to heauen should be thus: voyde<sup>5</sup> of feare.—exit.]

Stay, ist not possible to make a scape from all this strong garde? it is There is a thing within me, that will raise and eleuate my better parte boue sight



of these same weaker eyes. And Mr Shreeues,<sup>6</sup>  
for all this troupe of Steele that tends my death,  
I shall breake from you, and flye vp to heauen.  
Lets seeke the meanes for this.

Hang. My Lord, I pray ye put off your doublet.  
Moore. Speake not so coldely to me, I am hoarse alreadie,  
I would be lothe good fellowe to take more,  
Point me the block, I nere<sup>4</sup> was heere before.

Hang. To the Easte side my Lord.  
Moore. Then to the Easte,

we goe to sigh, that ore, to sleepe in rest.  
Heere Moore forsakes all mirth, good reason why,  
the foole of fleshe must with her fraile life dye.  
No eye salute my trunck with a sad teare,  
Our birthe to heauen should be thus: voide<sup>5</sup> of feare.—exit

Sur. A very learned woorthie Gentleman  
Seales errour with his blood. Come, wee to Courte.  
Lets sadly hence to perfect<sup>7</sup> vnknowne fates,  
whilst he tends prograce<sup>8</sup> to the state of states.  
ffinis.

1 = on  
2 = I'll see to that  
3 Matter in brackets is marked for deletion in the MS. by the author  
4 = never  
5 = devoid  
6 = Sheriff  
7 = wholly  
8 = progress



FACS. NO. 7

*Enter Sr Thomas moore and his man Atired like him*

*Moore.*

Com on sir are you redy

*Randall.*

Yes my Lord I stand but one a few points. I shall have donn p<sup>r</sup>sentialie before god  
I have practised yor Lordshipps shift so well that I thinke I shall grow p<sup>r</sup>owd  
my Lord

*Moore.*

tis fitt thou shouldst wax p<sup>r</sup>owd or ells thoult nere  
be neere allied to greatnes. observe me Sirra  
the Learned Clarke Erasmus is arived  
w<sup>thin</sup> or english court. Last night I heere  
he feasted w<sup>th</sup> or honord English poet  
the Earle of Surrey. and I learnd to day  
the famous clarke of Rotherdam will visett  
Sr Thomas moore, therfore sir take my seate  
you are Lord Chauncelor. dress yor behaviour  
according to my carriage but beware  
you talke not over much for twill betray thee  
who prates not much seemes wise his witt few scan



while the [tog] tongue Blabs tales of the Imperfitt man.  
 Ile see If greate Erasmms [*sic*] can distinguishe  
 meritt and outward Cerimony  
 If I doe not deserve a share for playing of yo<sup>r</sup> Lo. well. lett me be yeoman  
 vsheer to yo<sup>r</sup> Sumpter and be banisht from wearing of a gold chaine for ever  
 well sir Ile hide o<sup>r</sup> motion act my part  
 w<sup>th</sup> a firme Boldnes and thou winst my hart  
 how now whats the matter.  
 Tugg me not Ime noe beare. shloud If all the  
 Doggs in paris garden. hung at my tale. Ide shake em of w<sup>th</sup> this. that Ile  
 appeere, before noe king Cristned but my good Lord Chauncelor  
 weelee cristen yo<sup>a</sup> sirra. bring him forward.

*Rand.*

*Moore.*

*Faulk.*

*Shre.*

---

*Enter The Shreive w<sup>th</sup>  
 Faulkner a ruffin  
 and officers*

---



FACS. NO. 10

all marry god forbid that  
 moo nay certainly yo<sup>u</sup> ar  
 for to the king god hath his offyc lent  
 of dread of Justyce, power and Comaund  
 hath bid him rule, and willd yo<sup>u</sup> to obey  
 amd<sup>1</sup> to add ampler matie<sup>2</sup> to this  
 he [god]<sup>3</sup> hath not [le]only lent the king his figure  
 his throne [hisyoand]<sup>4</sup> sword, but gyven him his owne name  
 calls him a god on earth, what do yo<sup>u</sup> then  
 rysing gainst him that god himsealf enstalls  
 but ryse gainst god, what do yo<sup>u</sup> to yo<sup>r</sup> sowles  
 in doing this o desperat [ar] as you are  
 wash your foule mynds w<sup>t</sup> teares and those same handes  
 that yo<sup>u</sup> lyke rebells lyft against the peace  
 [xxxxx]<sup>5</sup>  
 lift vp for peace, and your vnreuerent knees  
 [that] make them your feet to kneele to be forgyven  
 [is safer warrs, then euer yo<sup>u</sup> can make]  
 [whose discipline is ryot], [why] [euen yo<sup>r</sup> warre(s)]<sup>6</sup> [hurly]



TELL ME BUT THIS<sup>7</sup>

[cannot proceed but by obedienc] what rebell capitaine  
 ni

as mutyes<sup>8</sup> ar incident, by his name  
 can still the rout who will obay [th] a traytor  
 or howe can well that *proclamation* somde<sup>9</sup>  
 when the [i]r is no adicion<sup>10</sup> but a rebell  
 to quallyfy<sup>11</sup> a rebell, youle put downe straingers  
 kill them cut their throts possesse their howses  
 and leade the matie<sup>2</sup> of lawe in liom<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup>alas alas]

to slipp him lyke a hound, [sayeng] say nowe the king

<sup>1</sup>Error for "and"

<sup>3</sup>Each bracket marks a deletion

<sup>5</sup>An interlined word smudged out

<sup>7</sup>Interlineation by "C"

<sup>9</sup>Error for "sunde"

<sup>11</sup> = characterise

<sup>2</sup>Abbreviation for "majesty"

<sup>4</sup>"his" changed to "yo(ur)" and then to "and"

<sup>6</sup>"warre" changed to "warrs"

<sup>8</sup>Probably intended for "mutynies"

<sup>10</sup> = title

<sup>12</sup> = leash



FACS. NO. 15

Beit knownen to all men by these presents that I henry  
Chettle of London Stationer doo ow vnto Philip Hinshow  
of the parish of St Saiours the sune of ix<sup>l</sup> ix<sup>s</sup>, on this  
22<sup>th</sup> of october 1598. In witnes whereof I haue here vnder  
sent [*sic*] my hand.  
henry chettle./

FACS. NO. 16

and you shall finde inheritance in heauen.  
But for my seruants theres my cheefest care  
[In you I] Come hether faithfull Steward be not greeude  
That in thy pson I discharge both thee  
and all thy other fellow Officers  
ffor my Great Master hath discharged mee.  
[So for the rest, my Gentlemen and y]  
If thou by seruing me hast suffred losse  
then benefit thy selfe by leauing mee.  
I hope thou hast *not* for such times as theese  
bring gaine to Officers who euer leese  
Great Lords haue onely name; but in the[ir] fall  
[xxx] Lord Spend-all's Stuart's master gathers all  
But I suspect not thee admit thou hast  
Its good the seruants saue when masters wast./  
But you poore Gentlemen that had no place  
t'inrich your selues but by loathd briberie  
wch I abhord, and neuer found you loude

thinke when an oake fals underwood sh  
and yet may liue though brusd, I pr  
to shun my ruin for the ax is set  
euen at my root to fell me to the gr  
the best I can doo to prefer you all w  
wth my meane store expect, for hea  
that Moore ioues all his follower



## FACS. NO. 17

doll no nor I nether so *maie* mine owne house be burnd for companye  
 ile tell ye what wele drag the strangers into more felδες &  
 theare bumbaste them till they stinke a gaine  
 Geor and thats soon donne for they smell for feare all redye.  
 let some of vs enter the strangers houses  
 doll and if we finde them theare then bringe them forthe  
 but if ye bringe them forthe eare ye finde them Ile neare  
 clo alowe of thatt  
 now marsse<sup>1</sup> for thie homer<sup>2</sup> dutch or frenshe so yt be a wenshe  
 ile vppon hir  
 now lads howe shall we labor in or saftie  
 [Linco] I heare the maire [ ? ] hath gatherd men in armes  
 WILLIA<sup>3</sup> and that shreue more an houer a goe Risseude  
 some of the pryve cownsell in at ludgate  
 forse now must make our pease or eles we fall.  
 twill soone be knowne we ar the principall

---

<sup>1</sup> Mars    <sup>2</sup> Error for "honner" (honor)

<sup>3</sup> "Linco" deleted and "Willia(m)" written over it by "C" ( Kyd)



/ MANETT CLOWNE<sup>3</sup>

doll                    and what of that if thou beest a fraide husband go home a  
                              gaine and hide thy hed for by the lord Ile haue a lytill sporte  
                              now we ar att ytt  
 Lin GEOR<sup>1</sup>       lets stand vpon o<sup>r</sup> swords and if they come  
                              Resseaeue them as they weare our e[m]nnyes  
                              a purchase a purchase we haue fownd we ha' fownde  
                              what  
                              nothinge nott a frenshe fleming nor a fleming frenshe  
                              to be<sup>2</sup> fownde but all fled in plaine inglishe.  
                              how now haue you fownd any  
                              no not one theyre all fled  
                              then fier the houses that the maier beinge busye  
                              aboute the quenshinge of them we maye scape  
                              burne downe ther Kennells let vs straitte awaye  
                              leaste this daye proue to vs an ill maye daye—clo

fier fier lie be the firste  
 if hanging come tis welcome thats the worste/  
 /

<sup>1</sup> "Liu" smudged out and "Geor(ge)" written after it by "C" (Kyd)

<sup>2</sup> An interlineation    <sup>3</sup> Added by "C"



FACS. NO. 18<sup>A</sup>

ffor better then to too legges trust to fflower

Actus 5<sup>s</sup>: scena pr<sup>a</sup>: Explicit Actus 4<sup>s</sup>:

Enter Thomas Ashburne the younger brother to Jhon

A Merchant wth one off his factors. —Fact: Gibson

Thomas.

ffactor,  
as you can wishe [them] S<sup>r</sup>.

and not<sup>1</sup> wth standinge, this Combustious<sup>2</sup> stryffe

beetwixt the winds and Seas, our shipp still tight

no anchar [tackle] Cable tackle sayle or mast

lost, thoughte much dangerd,<sup>3</sup> all our danadge<sup>4</sup> is:

that where our purpose was ffor Jtaly,

we are driven into Marcellis:

<sup>1</sup> The *n* lacks a minim

<sup>3</sup> Error for "dangerd" or "daungerd"

<sup>2</sup> Error for "Combustious"

<sup>4</sup> Error for "danadge"

FACS. NO. 18<sup>B</sup>

And by his Chevallry his ffoes expells.

Hee absent, now discends th' olimpick god

Jnamored off Alcmena, and transhapes

himselff Jnto Amphitrio: Ganimed

hee makes assistant in his amarus rapes

prefferringe hers beefore queene Junoes bedd

your woonted patience, you *perhapps* may find

erroures that even the quickest sights may blind.

Explicit Actus 3<sup>s</sup> Exit

Actus 4<sup>s</sup> scena prima.

(The head off. Enter on the one syde the Teleboans and



FACS. NO. 19

notch not that rogue tom barbar that makes me looke thus like a  
Brownist. hange me. Ile be worse to the niticall knave. then ten  
toothdrawings [w] heers a head w<sup>th</sup> a pox [exit]  
what ailst thou? art thou mad now.  
mad now? nayles yf losse of hayre Cannot mad a man  
what Can? I am deposde,; my Crowne is taken from mee  
Moore had bin better a Scowrd More Ditch than a notcht  
mee thus, does hee begin sheepe sharing wth Jack Faulkner?  
nay & yo<sup>u</sup> feede this veyne Sr, fare yo<sup>u</sup> well  
why fare well Frost. Ile goe hang my Selfe out for the  
poll head, make a Sarcen of Jack?  
tho<sup>u</sup> desperate knave, for that I See the Divell.  
wholy getts hold of thee.  
the Divells a dambd rascall  
I charge thee wayte on mee no more: no more,  
call me thy m<sup>r</sup>.  
why then a word m<sup>r</sup> Morris.

Morr:

Faulk:

Morr:

Falk:

Morr:

Falk:

Morr:

Falk:



- Morr: Ile heare no wordes, Sr, fare yo<sup>u</sup> well.  
 Falk: Sbloud fare well.  
 Morr: why doest tho<sup>u</sup> follow [yo<sup>u</sup>] mee:  
 Falk: because Ime an Asse, doe yo<sup>u</sup> sett yo<sup>r</sup> shavets vpon mee, & then  
 cast mee off? must I condole? haue the fates playd the fooles  
 am I their Cutt? Now the poore Sconce is taken, must Jack  
 march wth bag & baggage?  
 yo<sup>u</sup> Coxcomb.  
 nay yo<sup>u</sup> ha poacht mee, yo<sup>u</sup> ha given mee a hayre, its here  
 here.  
 Away yo<sup>u</sup> kynd [foole] *Asse* come Sr, Dry yo<sup>r</sup> eyes,  
 keepe yo<sup>r</sup> old place & mend their fooleryes.  
 I care not to bee tournd off, and twere a ladder, so it bee in  
 my humor, or the fates becon to mee; now pray Sr, yf the destynies  
 Spin mee a fyne thred, *Falkner* flyes another pitch: & to  
 avoyd the headach. hereafter befor Ile bee a hayremonger Ile  
 bee a whoremonger.—Exeu[nt]
- Morr:  
 Falk:  
 Morr:  
 Falk:  
 weepes/  
 Morr:  
 Falk,  
 Morr,  
 Falk:



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